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ZUR

ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

LORENZ MORSBACH,

O. Ö. PROFESSOR AN DER UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGEN.

Heft VII.

ERIK BJÖRKMAN:

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH.

HALLE A. S.

MAX NIEMEYER.

1900.

SCANDINAVIAN LOAN-WORDS

IN MIDDLE ENGLISH

BY

ERIK BJÖRKMAN, Ph. D.

PART I.

HALLE A. S.
MAX NIEMEYER.
1900.

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Preface.

The present work forms the first part of a treatise on the Scandinavian loan-words in Middle English, which will appear in complete form in the course of next year.

The difficulties of the problem — which I hope to have fairly illustrated in the Introduction — must necessarily cause a work on the subject in question to fall far short of ideal requirements. My chief aim has been to collect and — as far as circumstances would allow — to sift the material which has been accessible to me during the course of my studies in English philology.

To solve the innumerable problems involved in these investigations would be the work of a lifetime; but I trust that my attempts in this direction will prove of assistance to those who wish to pursue the subject.

The next volume will be accompanied by a list of abbreviations used, and also by an index of the words dealt with in the work.

I hope that the abbreviations will, as a rule, be readily understood — even without the list in question; and such of them as refer to editions of Middle English texts are, with few exceptions, those employed in Stratmann-Bradley's Middle English Dictionary.

I may be allowed to state that the numerous errata in some thirty pages of the work are mainly due to an accident beyond my control.

In conclusion, I have to ackowledge my obligations to all those friends whose encouragement and help have aided me in my work; and first to my teachers, Professor Adolf

Noreen and Professor Axel Erdmann, of the Upsala University, whose valued friendship I have enjoyed for many years. My best thanks are also due to my friend, Professor Evald Lidén, of the Gottenburg University, who has kindly assisted me in the reading of the proof-sheets, and from whom I have received many valuable hints. I have also to state my indebtedness to F. B. Lamburn, Esq. B. A. (of London) and to R. Edwards, Esq. (of Bath), who kindly undertook the toilsome work of revising my treatise from the point of view of the treatment of the English language.

Last, but not least, I would tender my heartiest thanks to Professor Lorenz Morsbach who by his ever ready advice and valuable criticism has been of the greatest assistance to me, not only when a student at the Göttingen University but throughout the whole time I have been engaged in my work.

London, April 1900.

Erik Björkman.

Introduction.

§ 1. The problem of the Scandinavian loan-words in English has already several times been more or less deeply dealt with by scholars. The first work of importance bearing on the subject was Johannes Steenstrup's historical treatise 'Normannerne' Copenhagen 1876—82, especially the fourth part entitled 'Danelag' Copenhagen 1882, in which the invasion of England by the Northmen in the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries and the influence of this invasion on English legislation, jurisdiction, administration, manners and customs as well as on the development of the English language in general and of the English terminology of legislation, jurisdiction, navigation, warfare etc. in particular, are most skilfully treated of.[1]) His material is chiefly taken from Old English and the transitional period between Old and Middle English.

In his article 'Nordische Lehnwörter im Orrmulum' (published in Paul and Braune's Beiträge X, also as an academical treatise Upsala 1884) the Swedish scholar Erik Brate gives an account of the loan-words occurring in one of the most important early M. E. texts, the Orrmulum, and deals with several phonological and etymological questions connected with the subject. Brate's work, which has proved extremely useful for the knowledge of the Scand. influence on the English

[1]) Worsaae's Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Skotland og Irland, Copenhagen 1851 and his Den danske Erobring af England og Normandiet, Copenhagen 1863 deal to some extent with our subject, but are, as far as the question of loan-words is concerned, surpassed and rendered superfluous by Steenstrup's work. The list of 100 Danish and Norse words selected from the folk-speech North of Watling-street, Worsaae Minder p. 113—122, is now antiquated.

language, is based exclusively on philological principles and in this respect is distinguished from that of Steenstrup, who treats the matter principally from a historical point of view.

In his well-known and instructive work 'Principles of English Etymology' I Oxford 2nd ed. 1892 p. 453—480, Skeat gives an introduction to the study of the Scandinavian element in English together with a discussion of some phonological questions and word lists illustrating the same.

Kluge's 'Geschichte der Englischen Sprache' in Paul's Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie I, Strassburg 1891 contains (p. 785—792) a short account of Scandinavian influence upon English; it is chiefly based on Brate's and Steenstrup's researches, but offers many new facts and points of view, throwing a new light on the subject. In the second edition of Paul's Grundriss now in progress, the article dealing with the Scandinavian element in English (p. 931—942) has undergone several alterations and has also been considerably enlarged.

The Scandinavian element in the English dialects has recently been dealt with by A. Wall in Anglia, Vol. XX, p. 45—135. The material collected by Wall is very rich and of great value for further researches into the subject; but, as the problem entered upon by Wall involves a great many difficulties most of which will perhaps never be satisfactorily solved,[1]) his results are in many points more or less unreliable. This is especially the case concerning phonological questions.

In this connection may be mentioned a paper read by myself at the meeting of the 'Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Upsala' (Philological Society of Upsala) in December 1898, concerning the question whether any of the Scandinavian loan-words in English can be distinguished as being of West-Scandinavian (Norwegian-Icelandic) or of East-Scandinavian (Danish-Swedish) origin. This paper was subsequently printed in 'Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets i Upsala Förhandlingar'

[1]) Thus *e. g.* it is very often impossible to draw any conclusions from words occurring in English dialects if we are not able, by means of researches into the history of the sounds of the dialects where the words occur, to trace the M. E. ground-form of the words in question, and this is in many cases very difficult, even if possible.

(Transactions of the Phil. Soc. of Upsala) 1897—1900, under the title of 'Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen'.

Much knowledge of the Scandinavian loan-words may be derived from the etymological Dictionaries of the English language, especially from those of Skeat ('An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language', 'A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language' and his 'List of Words the etymology of which is illustrated by comparison with Icelandic'), Kluge and Lutz (English Etymology, Strassburg 1898), and, above all, from the 'New English Dictionary on Historical Principles', edited, partly by Murray, partly by Bradley. Also Stratmann's 'Middle English Dictionary', edited by Bradley, Oxford 1891, gives valuable etymologies of M. E. words. Useful also is the word list in Sweet's History of English Sounds, 2nd ed. Oxford 1888, p. 280—372 where words which in the author's opinion are of Scand. origin, are marked by a special sign. Some articles in philological and literary reviews deal with particular English words of Scandinavian origin but must here be omitted.

§ 2. Although a complete knowledge of the Scandinavian loan-words cannot be obtained without a careful examination of the English language of all periods after the invasion and of all English dialects, there are several reasons for basing the study of the Scandinavian loan-words in English principally on Middle-English.

As for the Scandinavian element found in Old English, it is very scarce: Sweet's Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon, Oxford 1897, which contains the words of the English language before 1100 (cf. Sweet l. c. p. VII) offers only about 50 words marked as Scandinavian, and it is not probable that many of the other words given in this Dictionary are of Scandinavian origin. Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I, p. 932 ff. gives a list of words of Scandinavian origin found in English before 1150, many of which belong, of course, to Transition or Early Middle English, and yet this list contains only about 150 words, although, it seems to me, the Scandinavian origin of some of these words is more or less doubtful. This is to be accounted for in the following way. The O. E. literature, which has come

down to us, is, for the most part, written in the West-Saxon dialect and represents the language of the parts of England in which the Scandinavian influence, from well-known historical reasons, cannot be considered to have been very important. We know no English literature, worth speaking of, written in the language of the parts of England where the Scandinavian influence has proved to have been, in later times, of such great importance, dating earlier than the 13th century, and we therefore cannot with any certainty ascertain how many Scandinavian loan-words were to be found in these dialects at different times before the 13th century. Nevertheless, there are some reasons for believing that the stock of loan-words in these English dialects was not so large, say, in the 10th or 11th century as it was in later times. It is to be remembered that the dialects spoken by the Scandinavian settlers continued, for a long time, living a life of their own side by side with the English dialects and that the Scandinavians were for a long time looked upon by the English population as foreigners,[1]) speaking a language looked upon as a foreign one although not very different from the dialects spoken by the English themselves.[2]) During the periods of the existence of Scandinavian dialects spoken on English soil, many Scand. words were introduced into English, owing to the intercourse between the two nationalities, and it is also to be assumed that the Scandinavians themselves adopted many words from English into their own language.[3]) In this way the two languages were gradually

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[1]) Although this is a well-known fact, attention may here, by way of exemplification, be called to a very interesting O. E. charter (A. D. 962), containing 'Secular ordinances of King Eadgar for the government of the English, Danes, and Britons, principally in relation to trade in live cattle' (Gray Birch Cart. Sax. No. 1141); there is a passage reading as follows: *Ic wille þæt woruldzerihta mid Denum standan be swā gōdum lazum swā hȳ betste zecēosan mæzen.*

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 931 f. The passage in Gunnlaugs Saga (ed. Mogk) p. 11: *ein var tunga í Englandi ok Noregi, aðr Vilhidlmr bastarðr vann England* etc., if of any consequence, cannot show more than that Northmen and Englishmen could without difficulty make themselves understood to each other in their own languages.

[3]) Thus it is not in the least improbable that many English words adopted by the Scandinavians and pronounced by them according to the

amalgamated into one language which was chiefly of English character but very rich in Scandinavian elements. This process may have been facilitated by means of intermarriage between English and Scandinavian families; it is worthy of note that there are many Scandinavian proper names of persons to be found in O. English and early M. English charters and other documents and that many of these persons are not expressly said to have been of Scandinavian nationality. Orrm, himself, although an Englishman, had a Scandinavian name, which leads to the supposition that some of his ancestors or perhaps even his father or mother was of Scandinavian nationality. All considerations of such a kind make it probable that the English language which was the result of the amalgamation of Scandinavian and English dialects, was much richer in Scandinavian elements than the English of the periods, when the Scandinavian language was still alive and looked upon by the English as a foreign one. In fact, a careful examination of the Scandinavian elements found in English before the M. E. period will prove these elements to be of quite a different character from the main part of the traces of Scandinavian language found after, say, the year 1200. Such words as *barda* 'beaked ship', *cnear* 'small warship', *fylcian* 'to collect, marshal', *hā* 'rowlock', *hold* 'freeholder', *huscarl* 'one of the king's body guard', *liþ* 'fleet', *ōra* (Danish monetary unit), *orrest* 'battle', *rān* 'rapine, robbery', *sceȝð* 'a vessel' and many others which are, for the most part, not found in M. E., had been borrowed from the Scandinavian language chiefly to denote things closely connected with the life and institutions of the in-

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phonological conditions of their language or even altered by popular etymology or by change of suffixes etc., remained in the English dialects which were the result of the amalgamation of the two languages. Thus we may expect to find in the English language, spoken after the amalgamation, many words of English origin but Scandinavian in form. Although the Scandinavians were converted to Christianity by the English, and consequently are likely to have adopted many religious and ecclesiastical terms from English, it would not be very astonishing to find these terms reintroduced into the English language again and showing a distinctively Scandinavian form. — There are also some words in English introduced from Anglo-French, the stem of which is of English origin. Such a word is N. E. *scavenger*, cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. II p. 138 ff., Et. D. s. v.

vaders, the introduction of such words being of exactly the same character as the introduction of technical terms and words nowadays from one language to another. The Scandinavian element found in Middle English, on the other hand, is for the most part of quite another stamp. Such words as *hānum* 'him', *þaþen, þeþen* 'thence', *heþen* 'hence', *wheþen* 'whence', *þeȝȝ* 'they', *summ* 'as', *oc* 'and' etc. (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937) cannot be otherwise explained than as depending on a very intimate blending of the two languages. Instances of such a blending may, of course, have existed very early (the word *hānum* appears about 1050) at several points where the Northmen were in very close connection with the English, especially on the borders of the Scandinavian colonies, and thus gave up their nationality earlier than in other districts; and it may be supposed that such a mixed idiom was spoken at a very early date individually in families the members of which were of different nationality; but, taken as a whole, the English language of the parts where the Northmen had settled cannot be supposed to have been so rich in Scandinavian elements and so influenced by the Scandinavian dialects at the times when the descendants of the settlers still kept their nationality, as it became at the time when the Scandinavians themselves had gradually given up their nationality and their language had adopted mainly an English character.[1]) We may nowadays find very interesting analogies to this in the idioms of emigrants from countries the languages of which are different from those spoken in the new country; such emigrants and their descendants are, as a rule, bilingual, especially when there are a greater number of emigrants of the same nationality living close to each other. At home and among themselves they talk the language of the country from which they have come, but the longer the time they have been severed from this country, the more their original idiom gradually adopts words and peculiarities from the language of the

[1]) Before this amalgamation took place the Scandinavians must for a considerable period have been bilingual and this may, in connection with the fact that the two languages were closely akin to each other and to a great extent identical in vocabulary, account for the intimate way in which the languages became one.

country in which they are living. This is very often the case among settlers in North-America.

The conclusion seems to be that a distinction ought to be made between different strata of loan-words from Scandinavian and that the last and most important stratum had not yet found its way into the English language before the Transition or early Middle English period (1050—1150). It is also very likely that some Scandinavian words in English were, as long as Scandinavian dialects were spoken in England and looked upon as the dialects of foreigners, only used in everyday talk and, being considered more or less careless or vulgar, not admitted to the ranks of the literary language.

From all these considerations it seems quite natural that the material for the study of the Scandinavian loan-words cannot be taken chiefly or exclusively from Old English.

As for the knowledge of the subject which may be gathered from the language of the Modern English periods, this is also far less valuable and much more difficult to obtain than that which can be derived from Middle English, and very often the Modern English material cannot be well judged or dealt with, without a perfect knowledge of the M. E. conditions, which are in most cases necessary for throwing light upon the Modern English material. It has already been pointed out (p. 2), that it is very difficult to draw any conclusions from the living English dialects because of the uncertainty concerning sound laws, many of which have taken place in late times and which make it very difficult to know the M. E. ground-form. As for the standard English language of the modern periods, it is composed of elements from different dialects and therefore involves, as far as its phonology goes, many still unsolved problems. It is also to be taken into account that many of the Mod. E. sounds (of the received language as well as of the dialects) have arisen from more than one source and that the spelling of the received language is, as a rule, the only guide to the knowledge of the ground-forms. Moreover many words have, during Modern and late Middle English periods, been introduced from German, esp. Low German and Dutch, and even from Scandinavian languages of later times, and these are very frequently difficult to distinguish

from the Scandinavian element introduced before M. E. times, whereas there are no reasons for assuming any considerable influence from German on Old or Early Middle English (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 942 f.). — The Mod. Engl. material, although even now useful in many points cannot be made the subject of a thoroughly successful investigation until the main part of all these questions, especially the question concerning the phonological history of the dialects, has been fairly settled. Much use will, for these purposes, be derived from the English Dialect Dictionary, when completed. In this treatise, material will be taken from Mod. E. (rec. language and dialects) only by way of comparison with M. E., or when there are some special reasons for doing so, *e. g.* when the M. E. material is too scarce for an adequate treatment of certain questions or when the Scand. origin of the Mod. Engl. words seems unquestionable.

§ 3. Although an investigation of the Scandinavian influence on English as shown by the Middle English material is somewhat easier than an investigation based on Modern English and its dialects, the subject is a very difficult and complicated one. The main difficulties may here be shortly summed up.

1. The differences in vocabulary between Old English and the Scandinavian dialects must have been very small (cf. Wall, Anglia XX p. 51 f., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935), a fact which rendered the amalgamation of the two languages easier. The English and the Northmen could very easily understand each other in their own languages, and the close connection between both nationalities must have caused numerous words to be introduced from one language to another, even without either side noticing that the words adopted did not belong to their original vocabulary. Many words, common to both languages, but differing somewhat in sense, must have adopted the sense of the other language.[1]) And many words which were becoming or had already become obsolete in one

[1]) As an example may serve M. E. *sēmen* 'to befit, suit' from O. Scand. *sóma*. O. E. *sēman* meant 'to bring to an agreement, settle, satisfy, arbitrate' (see Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.). Likewise M. E. *ande* 'breath' from O. Scand. *andi*, whereas O. E. *anda* meant 'malice, envy, hatred'.

language may have been recalled to life by the influence of the other. M. E., N. E. *dale* is perhaps such a word, see N. E. D.[1])

2. To trace all the influence exercised on one language by the other would be a very difficult and complicate task, even if we had a perfect knowledge of both languages before their coalescence; but what we actually know about the language spoken by the Northmen at these times is very little indeed, as our knowledge of their language chiefly depends on conclusions drawn from literary monuments of much later dates and from Modern Scandinavian dialects. Although we have a fairly good knowledge of the West-Saxon literary language, we do not know much of the dialects of the parts of England, where the Scandinavian influence must have been most important, until several hundred years after the Scandinavian invasion. It is a fact that, after the West-Saxon period, numerous words appear in English, which are not found in Old English, but are of a distinctly English stamp and cannot have been introduced from Scandinavian. It is therefore possible that many of the words, considered as Scandinavian, did actually belong to the vocabulary of the dialects not represented by any literary monuments of an earlier date.[2])

3. There were other differences, of course, than that of vocabulary. Useful conclusions may be drawn from the differences in phonological and grammatical character and structure, a subject which will be treated of in the first chapter of this treatise. But we have reasons for believing that many words in English which show a distinctly English form, have nevertheless been introduced from Scandinavian. It must be remembered that both nationalities held, especially some time after the settlement of the Northmen, a very close intercourse with each other and therefore each side must have had a fairly good knowledge of the language of the other. In adopting words from Scandinavian, the English must, therefore, have been able to give the loan-words, which did not agree with the phonological conditions of their language, a

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[1]) Perhaps so also N. E. *till* 'to', see Emerson Hist. of the English Language, New York 1894, p. 155.

[2]) Many analogies are offered by a study of the influence of German, esp. Low German, on Scandinavian languages.

thoroughly English form, and they must also, although unconsciously, have had a fairly good etymological knowledge of Scandinavian, which enabled them to replace Scandinavian words and sounds by their English equivalents and some times they coined words, esp. compounds, simply by a translation from Scandinavian. This will be made clear by the following considerations and examples. Teutonic *sk* had in English become *š*, in Scandinavian it remained as *sk*. People who, to some extent, knew both languages saw, without any difficulty, the etymological indentity of English *š* and Scandinavian *sk*, and this the more easily as there existed in both languages a considerable number of words which — but for the difference of *sk*, *š* — were absolutely identical as to form and meaning. Bilingual individuals, when speaking English, had to pronounce *š* in the same words which they pronounced with *sk*, when speaking Scandinavian. This may have led to confusion of several kinds. *sk* has practically remained in many loan-words from Scandinavian, very often side by side with etymologically identical native words in *š*; this may have led to the introduction of *sk* even in words which did not exist in Scandinavian. Such a word is perhaps M. E. *scateren*, by the side of the genuine English *shateren*. Words containing *sk* introduced from Scandinavian, may easily have been 'Anglicised' and pronounced with *š*. For the possible Scandinavian loan-words of this kind, there are no phonetic criteria, and such loan-words are very difficult and indeed almost impossible to discern and do not enter into the scope of this treatise. Such a word is perhaps O. E. *sciftan*, M. E. *shifften* (cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 193, 300, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934). It is also possible that English words in *š*, when introduced into the Scand. dialects were 'Scandinavianised' and pronounced with *sk*, and afterwards reintroduced into English with this pronounciation (cf. p. 4 foot-note 3). Me. *scateren* could also be thus explained. — In the same way, the English easily saw the etymological identity of Scand. *æi*, *ei* to English *ā*. This is proved by the nom. pr. *Suanus* (= *sveinn*) in Mon. Hist. Brit. I p. 1031 (Index). There was no nom. pr. *Swān* of English origin; *suanus* is simply an Anglicised form of O. Scand. *Sweinn*, otherwise introduced as O. E. *Swezen*, *Swezn*, *Swein* etc. The O.

E. *swān* meant 'swineherd, herdsman', but 'man, warrior' in Fins. 39, which latter sense might be due to Scand. *sveinn* 'young man' (cf. O. E. *-swegen*, from Scand., in O. E. *bātswegen* 'boatman'). Scand. words in *æi, ei,* could therefore have been 'Anglicised' into *ā*. If the Scand. *ǫu, au* was etymologically identified with O. E. *ēa*, it would have been possible to introduce *ou, au* in Scand. words as O. E. *ēa*. O. E. *drēam* meant 'joy, bliss, mirth etc.'. Is it possible to explain M. E. *drēm* 'dream' through Scand. influence (O. Scand. *draumr*)?[1]) O. E. (W.-S.) *íe* (> *ȳ, ī*), (Anglian) *ē* (< Teutonic *au* + *i, j*) corresponded etymologically to Scand. *øy, ey*. Scand. *aurar* pl. was introduced into O. E. as *ōra*; the O. W. Scand. sg. *eyrir* showed *ī*-mutation, but no such form (**aire*) has been introduced into English. The singular is only to be found once — as far as my experience goes — in O. English and is *ȳre* (Cart. Sax. No. 1130, A. D. 972—992: *mid þrim pundum and mid ānum ȳre*). As the monetary unit in question was introduced by the Northmen, *ȳre* cannot be well otherwise explained than as depending on an etymological identification of O. E. *ȳ* and O. Scand. *øy, ey*. — O. Scand. *leysingi* 'freedman' was introduced into O. E. as *leising* (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 101), but there is also an O. E. *līesing, lýsing* formed after the pattern of the Scand. word, which process was facilitated by the knowledge of the etymological identity of O. Scand. *leysa* and O. E. *līesan* 'release, deliver'.[2]) — By way of comparison, it may be noticed that in the part of the O. E. Genesis

[1]) Thus *e. g.* Emerson Hist. of the English Lang. p. 154.; cf. Morsbach, Anglia Beiblatt VII p. 335. It is worthy of note that the earliest uses known are to be found in Gen. and Ex., C. M. etc.

[2]) M. E. *cōme* sb. 'coming, advent' Orrm etc. (*o* is undoubtedly long, see Luick, Unters. p. 303 f.) is, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[1] I p. 790, Grundr.[2] I p. 938, Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 86, formed after the pattern of O. W. Scand. *kvāma* (the English etymological equivalent of Scand. *ā* before nasal consonants was O. E. *ō*, M. E. *ǭ*). Meanwhile attention may be called to O. Swed. *koma* sb. 'arrival', which seems to have contained long *ō*: although in obl. cas. *como* in the O. Swed. Cod. Bureanus (see Söderwall's Ordbok), the *o* of the ending need not prove the preceding syllable to have been long ('vowel-balance', see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 143), because, as my friend Prof. Lidén kindly informs me, *-o* in texts like Cod. Bur. may sometimes depend on 'vowel-harmony' (Noreen l. c. § 139 and Anm.), it seems advisable to derive the O. Swed. word from

which depends on an O. Sax. original there occurs an adj. *wǣr* 'true', not found elsewhere in English (: *ðæs mē ðes boda sæġde wǣrum wordum*). The words *wǣrum wordum* are apparently a translation of O. Sax. *wārun wordun* (cf. Bosw.-Toller s. v. *wǣr* adj.), *ǣ* instead of *ā* depending on the etymological identification of O. Sax. *ā* and O. E. *ǣ*.

Quite as difficult is the knowledge of what I should like to call 'translation loan-words'. There are many instances of such words in the material given by Steenstrup. Thus O. E. *bōtlēas* 'what cannot be compensated', *forword* 'fore-word, stipulation, agreement' (Steenstrup, Danelag p. 55), *hēafdesman* 'chief, leader', *hāmsōcn* 'attacking an enemy in his house' (Steenstrup p. 348 ff.), *lahcēap* 'payment for re-entry into lost legal rights', *landcēap* 'tax paid when land was bought' (also in the true Scand. forms, *laġcōp, landcōp*), *rādesmann* 'adviser, councillor', *saclēas* 'innocent, secure', *wǣpenġetæc, -tac* 'vote of consent expressed by touching weapons; district governed by such authority' etc., are distinctively English in form, although they seem to be of Scandinavian introduction, O. E. *-leas, hām-, cēap, rād-, -word, wǣpen-* having been put instead of the Scand. *lauss, heim, kaup, ráð, orð, vápn.* There may be many such translation words in English, although, as a rule, they cannot be proved to be so; such difficulties cannot be further entered upon in this treatise.

So difficult is the subject that many of the questions connected with it will never be solved. Still, the few differences that are known to have actually existed between the two languages, enable us to discover a very considerable amount of loan-words. This will sufficiently show how important the Scandinavian influence must have been, and will enable us also to draw some conclusions as to the importance of the Scandinavian influence in instances where there is no direct and accurate evidence of its real dimensions.

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the same base as the West Scand. *kváma*. O. Swed. *kōma*, therefore, seems to depend on the change of Scand. *wǫ* > *ō* (Noreen l. c. § 65, 7) in the oblique cases sg. and in the plural. If this be right and if the English word be borrowed from the Scand. one — and this I hold to be the case — we have here one case of Scand. *u*-mutation in Scand. loan-words in English. As for other possible cases, see Dial. Prov. p. 7 foot-note 3.

The difficulties of the problem, taken as a whole, have been very well characterized by Jespersen, Progress in Language, London 1894, p. 173 f., in the following words: 'As for the language, it should be borne in mind that the tongue spoken by the Danes[1]) was so nearly akin with the native dialects that the two peoples could understand one another without much difficulty. But it was just such circumstances which made it natural that many nuances of grammar should be sacrificed, the intelligibility of either tongue coming to depend on its mere vocabulary. It is in harmony with this view that the wearing away and levelling of grammatical forms in the regions in which the Danes chiefly settled was a couple of centuries in advance of the same process in the more Southern parts of the country. A fully satisfactory solution of the question of the mutual relations of North English and Scandinavian at that time must be regarded as hopeless on account of the small number, and generally inadequate character, of linguistic records; and, unless some fresh sources become accessible to us, we shall probably never learn clearly and unequivocally which points of correspondence in the two languages are attributable to primitive affinities, which others to loans from one language to the other, or, finally how much may be due to independent parallel development in two areas which offered striking analogies in so many essential particulars. But, as I hold, any linguistic change should primarily be explained on the basis of the language itself, while analogies from other languages may serve as illustrations and help to show what in the development of a language is due to psychological causes of a universal character, and what is, on the other hand, to be considered the effect of the idiosyncrasies of the particular idiom'.

§ 4. The aim of this treatise will be to give an account of the borrowed Scandinavian words in M. E. — within the limitations mentioned in the preceding paragraph. It will, consequently, deal with loan-words[2]) in the proper sense of

[1]) As there are reasons for believing that many Norwegians settled among the Danes, I prefer to use the word Scandinavians.

[2]) Still it is often very difficult to decide what is to be called a loan-word and what is only a native word influenced by Scandinavian.

the word. There were many kinds of influence excercised on English by Scandinavian other than that of loan-words, but these elements must be made the subject of a special work. Thus whole phrases, proverbs etc. may have been introduced from Scandinavian, but this is a subject most difficult to enter upon.[1])

Neither will Scandinavian influence on English derivation (prefixes and suffixes) or inflections be treated of otherwise than incidentally. By way of exemplification, it may he pointed out that the frequency in Middle and Modern English of the verbal suffixes *l* and *n* may be due to Scandinavian influence. Although such formations to some extent existed in O. E., they grew much more frequent in later periods. The likelihood of their partial Scandinavian introduction may be, to some extent, supported by the fact that a great number of these verbs seem to be loan-words, and from these loan-words the suffixes may have spread to word-stems of English origin.[2]) In cases where the word-stems without the suffixes occur in native words in English, the chief difficulty is often to know whether the whole word or only the suffix is of Scandinavian introduction.

Thus there are many hybrid forms, as N. E. *to screech*. In many cases where there were native words which etymologically fully corresponded with the words which show Scand. peculiarities, it cannot be decided, whether the whole word has been borrowed from Scandinavian or whether the native word has been influenced by Scandinavian.

[1]) Instances of this phenomenon are probably the following phrases: M. Scotch '*Tyr hœb us, ye Tyr ye Odin'*, Mod. Scotch dial. '*Tyribus ye Tyr ye Odin'* (cf. Murray Dial. of South. Count. of Scotl. p. 17 f., 248, Stephens Annaler f. Nord. Oldk. 1875, p. 109 ff.), M. E. *wommennes counseils been ful ofte colde* (Chaucer Nonne Prestes Tale v. 436, cf. O. W. Scand. *kǫld eru kvenna ráð*, see Fritzner, Ordb. II, p. 248, O. W. Scand. *kǫld eru jafnan kvenna ráð* Partal. Saga p. 30, Norw. dial. *saa kalle æ kvenderaa*, (Bugge, Gamle Norske Folkeviser p. 39, Fritzner l. c.), O. Dan. *kaalt er altid quinde raad*, see Fritzner l. c.), M. E. *hwon þe bale is alre hecst þonne is þe bote alre necst* (O. & N., C. M. etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *boot*, cf. O. W. Scand. *þegar bǫl er hæst er bót næst*), M. E. *he ... gouen hem ille* Hav. 164 (cf. O. W. Scand. *gefa sik illa*, see Fritzner, Ordb. I, p. 568). For other instances, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 938.

[2]) As will be seen from the lists given here, it is very often difficult to know whether the verb in question is formed from an adj. or sb. containing the suffix *-l* or *-n*, or whether the suffix is original in the verb.

A short list — by no means complete — of verbs containing these suffixes, may here be given.

1. *l*-suffix (the frequency of this suffix in Scand. is shown by the list given by Hellquist Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV, p. 181 ff.): M. E. *bablen* 'to babble' (cf. Swed. *babbla*, but also L. Germ. *babbeln*), M. E. *brütlen* 'to hew in pieces', M. E. *bustelen* 'to bustle' (cf. O. W. Scand. *bustla* which seems, however, to be formed from the sb. *bustl*, see N. E. D.), N. E. *daggle*, N. E. *dangle* (cf. Swed. dial. *dangla*), N. E. *draggle*, N. E. *drizzle* (cf. Swed. dial. *drösla*), N. E. *gabble*, N. E. dial. *hankle* (Wall p. 106), N. E. *cangle* (cf. Swed. dial. *kangla*), N. E. dial. *niggle* (cf. Swed. dial. *niggla*), O. E. *sahtlian*, M. E. *sahhtlen* 'reconcile', N. E. *snarl* (cf. M. L. Germ. *snarren*), M. E. *stumlen* (cf. Swed. dial. *stumla*, cf. Hellquist p. 166 f., Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 469, 474 — but also N. Dutch *stommelen*, see Franck, Et. Wb. s. v.), N. E. *waggle* etc.

2. *n*-suffix: N. E. *batten* 'to grow fat' (cf. O. Swed. *batna* 'to be healed, to swell' in comparison with Goth. *gabatnan*, O. E. *batian* 'to be in good condition or health', *ȝebatad* 'healed'), M. E. *bliknen* 'to turn pale' (cf. O. W. Scand. *blikna* 'to turn pale'), M. E. *blisnen*, *blüsnen* 'to shine', M. E. *bolnen* 'to swell' (cf. O. W. Scand. *bolgna*), M. E. *botenen* 'to restore, assist', M. E. *brütnen* 'to hew in pieces', M. E. *daunen*, N. E. *to dawn* (cf. O. E. *dazian*), M. E. *darknen*, N. E. *frighten*, N. E. *gladden*, M. E. *glopnen* 'be astonished, terrified', M. E. *harrdnenn* N. E. *harden*, O. E. *costnian* M. E. *costnen*, 'to tempt' (as early as Ælfr. Hom., probably native), M. E. *costnen* 'to cost, expend', N. E. *lengthen*, M. E. *līknen* 'to liken, compare', M. E. *litnen* 'to diminish', M. E. *lüstnen* 'to listen' (cf. Swed. *lyssna*), M. E. *morknen* 'to rot' (cf. O. W. Scand. *morkna*), N. E. *quicken* (cf. O. W. Scand. *kvikna*), N. E. *redden*, M. E. *rudnen* 'become red' (cf. O. W. Scand. *roðna*), M. E. *sahtnien* 'reconcile, make piece', M. E. *sloknen* 'to extinguish' (cf. O. W. Scand. *slokna* 'to get extinguished'), N. E. *weaken*, M. E. *þarrnenn* 'to lack, lose' (cf. O. W. Scand. *þarfna*, *þarna*, compared to O. E. *þearfian* 'be indigent'), etc.[1]) — Cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 275 ff., 468, Kluge,

[1]) The Scand. suffix *n* in verbs is, as a rule, to be found in intransitive, mostly inchoative, verbs, formed from past participles or adjectives (*e. g. bolgna* from the past partic. *bolgen*, and from such verbs it was introduced by way of analogy into verbs like *harðna*, from the adj.

Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 690. Some material for the history of the *n*-verbs, esp. in Gothic, is given by Egge, American Journal of Philology VII p. 38 ff., (cf. also Zimmer, Zeitschrift f. Deutsches Altert. XIX p. 416 f.). — In

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harðr). There were no verbs in O. E. of the type *harðnā* (as for O. E. *āwæcnian* intr., *fæstnian* tr., see Sweet, New English Grammar p. 467); O. E. *druncnian* 'to become intoxicated, be drowned' is formed from the partic. *druncen* (in the same way as O. E. *fægenian* 'to rejoice' is formed from O. E. *fægen* 'glad'), and *n* is not a suffix like *n* in O. W. Scand. *harðna*, M. E. *harrdnenn* etc. (some O. E. verbs in *-(e)nian* are given by Sievers Ags. Gramm.[3] § 411 Anm. 4). There seems to have been a tendency in Old and Middle English to form transitive verbs from adjectives and participles in *-en* (cf. O. E. *crīstnian* trans. 'to christianize, christen'). At any rate, there were some verbs in O. E. *-nian*, M. E. *-nen* formed from adjs. in *-en*, and also from sbsts. in *-(e)n*, mostly transitive. This may be the explanation of the fact that many of the Scand. loan-words in *-nen* became transitive as well as intransitive, many even only transitive although they were, as a rule, only intransitive in Scandinavian (thus M. E. *harrdnenn*, *sloknen*, N. E. dial. *slocken*, Wall p. 120, are transitive, Scand. *harðna*, *slokna* only intransitive). By the side of trans. and intrans. verbs in *-nen*, there were transitive verbs without the *n*-suffix (*e. g.* M. E. *harden* and *harrdnenn* 'to make hard') and this has, by way of analogy (M. E. *harrdnenn* etc.: M. E. *harden*, *gladen* etc. = M. E. *sloknen* : *x*), led to the form *sloken* (see Stratmann-Bradley); in Scand. no such form occurs, and this may be the reason why the form has often been erroneously derived from O. W. Scand. *sløkkua* (thus *e. g.* Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885, p. 79), which cannot have given anything but M. E. *slekken* (perhaps is M. E. *bollen* vb., *(i)bolled* past partic. instead of *bolnen*, *(i)bolned* to be explained in the same way). In this connection it may be pointed out that M. E. *sloken* 'to extinguish' cannot be related to, or borrowed from, Dan. *slukke* 'to extinguish'; the O. Dan. form was *slykke* (*sløkke*) and *slukke* is a late form, due to analogy: through the influence of such verbs as O. Dan. *lykke*, pret. *lukte*, past partic. *lukt*, the pret. and past partic. of *slykke* become *slukte*, *slukt* (also in O. Swed., see Söderwall Ordbok); by the influence of pret. and past partic. *lukte*, *lukt*, O. Dan. *lykke* has become Mod. Dan. *lukke*, and in the same way O. Dan. *slykke* has become Mod. Dan. *slukke* (I owe this explanation of Dan. *slukke* to my friend, Doctor Otto von Friesen; Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 423, Anm. 5 thinks the ground-form of Dan. *slukke* was **slǫkkua* (by-form of *sløkkua*), and he considers past partic. *sloken* to be from this verb. *sløkkua* and *sloken*, *slokna* are probably not related, cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 28, 93, 165, and I therefore find the explanation given by von Friesen all the more preferable to that of Noreen's). — The question about the origin of the Engl. suffix *-n* cannot be fairly settled until all verbs containing the suffix have been collected and etymologically treated of, not only with regard to English and Scandinavian, but also to other Teutonic languages.

M. E. *ȝēmsle* (Orrm) the suffix is, no doubt, Scandinavian, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938 (as for M. E. *uppbrixle* 'object of reproach' Orrm, *brixel* 'reproach' C. M., M. E. *tīnsel* 'loss, ruin', see Kluge p. 1015, 1058).

As for Scand. influence on English inflections, very little will ever be known on this subject. This is especially the case with respect to possible changes in the vowels of the endings, all weak vowels having, in most of the records of any consequence accessible to us, been levelled under *e*.[1]) There are some traces ot Scandinavian inflectional consonant endings in English, but they only occur in Scand. loan-words and do not seem to have ever had the same function as they had in the Sandinavian languages. Thus the ending *r* (< *R*) of the nominative sing. masc. of nouns seems to remain in M. E. *hazer, hazherr* (Orrm), *hawur* adj. 'apt, dexterous', deriv. *hazherrlezzc* 'skill' (Orrm), *hazherrlike* (Orrm), *hazherliche* adv. 'aptly, fitly', *unnhazherrliz* 'unsuitably' (Orrm), from O. W. Scand. *hag-r,* O. Swed. *hagh-er* 'dexterous, skilful' (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 45); M. E. *hazhelike, hazheliz* (Orrm) are regular forms and correspond to O. W. Scand. *hagliga*.[2]) An *r* of the same kind is perhaps to be found in M. E. *kaggerrlezzc*

[1]) The northern form of the pres. partic. in M. E. is *-and* and is considered to be due to Scand. influence, thus *e. g.* Scholle, Quellen u. Forschungen 52, p. XXVI, Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885 p. 75, Sweet, New Engl. Gram. p. 379, Luick, Arch. CII p. 56. Although pres. parts. in *-ande* (*-onde*) occur early in O. E. and may possibly, in these early instances, be of native origin (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 363, Anm. 4), the M. E. forms, very probably, depend on Scandinavian influence, especially as the Scandinavian ending *-ande* may be supposed to have been more strongly stressed than the presumed English, which may account for the *a* of the ending not having been levelled under *e* as early as the vowels of other endings. — As for the spelling *-and* in N. E. *thousand, errand, weasand,* see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1061.

[2]) Taken by itself, it is not possible to decide with certainty, whether *-er* in M. E. *hazherr* is actually due to Scand. nom. *-r* or whether it depends on an Indo-Germanic *-ro*-suffix (as for which see Kluge, Nom. Stammb. p. 83 f.). Such a suffix *-ro-* is found in Sanscr. *çakrá-s* 'strong', which is generally considered related to Scand. *hag-r* (see references given by Karsten, Studier öfver de nord. spr. primära nominalbild., Helsingfors 1895 p. 10; otherwise Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 104). But other circumstances (esp. the guttural *ȝ*) speak in favour of the derivation of the M. E. word from the Scandinavian one.

(Orrm),[1]) which has been derived from O. W. Scand. *kærleikr*, O. Swed. *kærlēker*, O. Dan. *kærleg* 'love'; but this etymology is phonologically impossible, and it is improbable that the sense of the M. E. word was 'love'. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 46 f., thinks *kaggerr-* is the same word as O. W. Scand. *kǫgur-* in *kǫgur-barn, kǫgur-sveinn* 'a bantling', but as Brate himself remarks, Orrm's spelling *gg* does not well agree with this etymology; neither would O. W. Scand. *kǫgur-* (as for the original sense of which, see Detter, Zeitschrift f. Deutsch. Altertum XLII, p. 56), give any disclosure as to the meaning of M. E. *kagger-*. Perhaps the word is related to Swed. dial. *kägg* 'wanton, lustful, covetous for love' (Rietz); *kaggerlezzc* then would mean 'wantonness, lustfulness' which is just the sense we expect in the two passages, where the word occurs.[2])

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[1]) v. 2185 ff.:

Forr sōn se mazzdenn wurrþeþþ bāld,
ȝhō wurrþeþþ sōne unþæwedd,
Forr kaggerrlezzc shall dōn þatt ȝhō
Shall dafftelezzc forrwerrpenn.

v. 11653 ff.:

Forr gluterrnesse waccneþþ all
Gālnessess lāþe strenncþe,
Annd all þe flæshes kaggerrlezzc
Annd alle fūle lustess
Beginnen þære etc.

[2]) Swed. *kägg* seems to be related to Swed. dial. *kagg* 'castrated bull, ill-tempered person' (Rietz), *ä* being due to *i*-mutation of *a*. But there may also have been an O. Scand. adj. **kaggr* without *i*-mutation and equivalent to *kägg* with regard to the sense, and from this **kaggr* I derive M. E. *kaggerrlezzc*. The word is perhaps related to the word-group dealt with by von Friesen Mediageminatorna p. 102 f. M. E. *kigge* 'cheerful', N. E. (dial.) *kedge, kidge* 'brisk, lively' (N. E. dial. *cadgy* [*ka·dʒi, kæ·dʒi*] 'in good spirits, gay, cheerful, sportive, wanton', E. D. D., 'wanton, lustful', N. E. D.?) are perhaps related words of native (or hybrid) origin. — Very obscure is the origin of *er* in N. E. dial. *anonsker* 'eager, desirous', generally explained as a Scand. loan-word, cf. Wall, Anglia XX, p. 89, E. D. D. s. v. — Some other possible cases of Scand. inflectional *r* — all of them nevertheless doubtful — are given by Wall, Anglia XX p. 62 f. N. E. *staver* 'a stave, hedge stake' does not contain Scand. nominative *r*, but is better referred to Dan. *staver*, plur. *stavre* (cf. Wall l. c.), O. Swed. *stavur* (dat. sg. *stafre*, dat. pl. *stafrum*), Swed. dial. *staver*; an attempt to explain this Scand. word has been made by Tamm, Uppsalastudier tillegnade Sophus Bugge, Upsala 1892, p. 35, who thinks that O. Swed. *staver* may be a by-

Another relic of the Old Scand. nom.-ending -ʀ remains in O. E. *þrǣll* (Lind. Gosp.), M. E. *þrăll*[1]) from O. Scand. *þrǽll* (> **þrāhilaʀ*). O. E., M. E. *ll* as well as M. E. *ă* in this word can only be explained through the Scand. nom. in *ll* < *lʀ* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, 937), whereas O. E. *þrǣl* (pl. *þrǣlas* Lind. Gosp., Wr. Voc. 98, 20) is from the other Scand. cases and has given M. E. *þrę̄l* (pl. *þrę̄les*, see Stratmann-Bradley)[2]) — The ending *t* of neuts. and advs. formed from adjs. (past parts.), has remained in M. E., *forrgarrt*, Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 41, M. E., N. E. *scant*, M. E. *tit*, *þwer(r)t*, *þwertover*, *overþwert*, M. E. *want* 'lacking' (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938), M. E. *wict*, *wiȝt*, N. E. *wight* 'strong

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form of O. W. Scand. *staurr*, an explanation which would, however, not well agree with the current etymology of this latter word (Prellwitz, Et. Wb. s. v. σταυρός, Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *stiurjan*, Brugmann, Ind. Forsch. VI p. 98).

[1]) Cf. such rimes as King Horn 435 *thralle* : *befalle*, Hav. 527, 1097, 1407 *þral* : *al*, Rob. Gl. 4074 *þral* : *al* (Pabst Diss. p. 87), *thrall* : *all* : *sall* Clariodus (Curtis, Anglia XVII p. 10) etc. — See also Sweet, Hist. of Engl. Sounds p. 341.

[2]) More difficult to explain is M. E. *þrell*, *þrill* (see Stratmann-Bradley, Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 144, Buss, Anglia IX p. 505, Luick, Untersuchungen p. 258) which could be a contamination of *þrę̄l* and *þrăll*, developed after the period, when O. E. *æ*, M. E. *ę̄* before *ll* became *ă* (compounds as *þreldom*, *þrelwork*, formed after the same period, might also have contributed), cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1036 Anm. 2. It is of some interest that C. M. Cott. MS. has *þrall* as well as *þrell* in rimes (*e. g. threll* : *tell* v. 10914, *thrall* : *all* etc. v. 5506, 9480 etc.). Thus also Wintown, see Buss l. c.; Laz. A-text has *þrel*, *þrelwork*, but *þraldom*, *þralles*. — Still it is perhaps possible to explain *þrell* (>*þrill*) by means of Scandinavian sound laws. In the Old Scandinavian paradigm, there seem to have existed forms of the word in *æi*, *ei* (which, when by generalisation introduced into the nominative sing., became *ě*, *ę̌* before *ll*, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 115) as well as in *æ*, although generalisation, as a rule, has taken place in favour of *æ*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 93, 1; there are, nevertheless, some Scand. forms in *ě* (<**ei* before *ll* of the nom.) and also in **ei* (> East Scand. *ē*) to be found (see Noreen l. c.), and M. E. *þrell*, *þrill* could also be from this Scand. *þrell* (*þrēl*). — Pogatscher, Gött. Gel. Anz. 1894 p. 1015, Stephens, Blandinger Udg. av Univ. Jub. Danske Samf. 1881—87 p. 204, 206, consider the word to be of native origin. But O. E. *þrœll*, M. E. *þrall* cannot easily be explained as a native form, and it is therefore not very probable that the by-form *þrœl* is native, either.

and nimble', M. E. *wiztliche* 'nimbly, actively'; possibly also in M. E. *anent* (Sievers, Mod. Lang. Notes I p. 47), M. E. *snart* 'severely, sharply' Gaw. 2003 (cf. O. W. Scand. *snarr* 'swift, keen'). It is probable that this *t* is to a greater extent due to the Scand. adverbs in *t* than to the neut. of the adjectives, and the earliest instances of the *t*-forms in English are practically very often adverbs.[1]) Perhaps the *t* in some verb-forms, as M. E. *tynt* 'lost', C. M. Gött. MS., Life of St. Cuthb.

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[1]) In this connection, a word may be mentioned which is still very obscure as to its etymology although it has been explained in different ways by scholars. I venture to offer here a new explanation according to which it contains a remainder of the same Scand. ending *t*. This word is M. E., N. E. *awkward*. *Awk-* has been very often derived from O. W. Scand. *ǫfugr*, Swed. *avog* etc., but *k* cannot be explained directly from the Scand. *g*. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1032, 1050 assumes an O. E. **afocweard* as the origin of M. E., N. E. *awkward* — with a *k*-suffix like Goth. *ibuks* etc. (cf. Kluge, Nominale Stammbildungslehre p. 90). In harmony with this, Wright E. D. D. I p. 102 compares Germ. dial. *afk*, *äfk* 'perverse', *afke* 'a silly, stupid woman'. The etymology of these German words being obscure, very little support for the explanation of *awkward* is to be derived from them. — The first example of the word-stem in English is *afolic geflit* 'perversa contentio' Lind. Gospels, which does not show the *k*-suffix but seems to represent a ground-form **afoh* (> **afog*) (cf. Murray N. E. D. I p. 596), which could be from Scand. *ǫfugr* etc. It is to be noticed that the word (*auk-*, *awk-*) is in M. E. chiefly used as an adv. Thus M. E. *aukly* adv. is very easily explained from a base **afukt-lig* (cf. *wiztliche* from the Scand. adv. *vīgt* + the Engl. ending *liche*), Scand. *g* having become *k* before the ending *t* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[3] § 184, b) and *t* having afterwards been dropped between *k* and *l*. Likewise I explain M. E. *awkwart*, *awkward* adv. (cf. that M. E. *backward* is only adv., N. E. D.) 'upside down etc.' (see N. E. D.) from the Scand. neut. (adv.) *avukt*; N. E. dial. *wik* 'quick, alive', Wright, Windhill p. 38, is perhaps from a Scand. neut. *vikt* (< *vigt*) and thus originally a by-form to N. E. *wight* 'strong and nimble' from Scand. *vīgt*, in which *g* (= *ʒ*) depended on the influence of the forms in which it was regular. But the word (*awkwart*, *awkward*) could be partly from another Scand. source. It could be from Scand. **avukt-þwert* (cf. Swed. dial. *avut-tvärt*, Rietz) which would account for the form M. E. *awkwart* (*e. g.* Wallace: *with the sword awkwart he him gave under his hat*), N. E. dial. *akwart* etc. (see N. E. D.), although such forms may be otherwise explained (see *e. g.* Sweet, H. E. S. p. 198). — From the adverbs M. E. *awkly*, *awkward* has arisen M. E. *awk* adj., which does not occur earlier than 1440), whereas the adverb *awkward* occurs about one hundred years earlier than the adj. (Hamp., see N. E. D.).

(Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195) etc. is also to be derived from Scandinavian. — The past partic. M. E., Scotch dial. *stad* (of M. E. *steden*, see Stratmann-Bradley, Murray, Dial. South. Count. Scotl. p. 29 foot-note) is from Scand. past partic. *staddr* (inf. *steðja*). Some other inflectional forms due to Scand. influence, are mentioned by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938.[1])

§ 5. The historical facts concerning the Scandinavian invasion, the life and conditions of the Scandinavian settlers, their political relations to the English etc. are all easily gathered from the historical literature and need not here be specially dealt with.[2]) It will, in this connection, be sufficient to point out that the territories where the Scandinavian settlers were most numerous, were the counties on both sides of the Wash, especially Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire, but that there were also vast territories populated by Scandinavians in other parts of Great Britain, especially in Northumbria and in the North-West counties of England.[3])

§ 6. As for the dates of the borrowings, it has already been pointed out (p. 7) that we have probably to discriminate between different strata of loan-words. The main part of the

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[1]) It is not quite certain whether M. E. *basken* contains the Sandinavian Medio-Passive ending *-sk*, see Dial. Prov. p. 6 f. — Of some interest are also the Scand. nom. pr. *Bofiz*, *Tokig*, *Tostiz*, *Raniz*, *Hraniz* (Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XII p. 484, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 997, foot-note), *þuriz* (Hruschka, Gymnasialprogramm Prag 1885 p. 24), *Touiz*, *Tofiz* (*e. g.* Kemble IV p. 99) *Clofize* (Searle Onom.A.-Sax. s. v.), *Manniz* (Searle s. v.) from Scand. *Bófi*, *Tóki* etc. — Is the ending *īn* in *Orrmīn* in the Orrmulum Dedic. v. 324, 325 a relic of the Old Scand. affixed def. article *-inn*, accus. *-in*? Although the length of the *i* would be difficult to account for, it may be noticed that a similar difficulty is offered also by other cases in the same text: *e. g. Drihhtīn*, *Orrmulūm*, *Spontaneūs*. For instances of the retention of the Scand. def. article in Shetl., see Jakobsen, Det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland p. 108, cf. E. D. D. s. v. *fiendin*.

[2]) Especially useful for our purpose are the following works: Lappenberg, Geschichte von England, Worsaae Minder om de Danske og Nordmændene i England, Scotland og Irland, Copenhagen 1851, Worsaae, Den danske Erobring of England og Normandiet Copenhagen 1863, Steenstrup, Normannerne, Freeman, History of the Norman Conquest, Grueber, A Catal. of English Coins, Green, History of the English People, Storm, Kritiske Bidrag til Vikingetidens Historie, Kristiania 1878, Taranger Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Indflydelse paa den Norske, Kristiania 1890.

[3]) Cf. Wall, Anglia XX p. 55.

loan-words, nevertheless, seems to have been introduced during the times when the Scandinavian settlers began to give up their original language and nationality, and seems to be a result of the amalgamation of the Scandinavian and English languages, which probably took place in the 11th century and which was, in some parts, perhaps not fully completed until the beginning of the 12th century.[1])

§ 7. As for the question from which parts of Scandinavia the settlers came, and to what extent the loan-words throw light upon their nationality, I refer to my treatise, Zur Dial. Provenienz, and to the references given there p. 1 foot-note. After having collected all the material attainable for the purpose, I hope to be able to enter more closely upon the question as to how many of the loan-words show a distinctive West-Scandinavian and how many a distinctive East-Scandinavian stamp. It is well known that Norwegians as well as Danes took part in the invasion. As for their local distribution, it is to be remembered that the settlers in East Anglia and Lincolnshire were, to a great extent, Danes, who seem to have been paramount in these districts, and that the main body of the Norwegians seems to have settled in Northumbria and in the North-West parts of England. That a considerable part of the Scandinavian population North of the Humber was Norwegian, is also rendered probable by the loyalty with which the Scandinavians of Northumbria kept to the Norwegian dynasty of the kingdom of York (cf. Taranger l. c. p. 25 ff.).

§ 8. The Scandinavian languages are, as is well known, to be divided into two groups: West-Scandinavian (Norwegian, Icelandic, Færøish) and East-Scandinavian (Danish, Swedish). As we know very little of the Scandinavian languages spoken at

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[1]) I cannot here enter upon the question whether Scand. loan-words and Scandinavianisms of a different character from those pointed out p. 5, and of a stamp more like the main part of those found in M. E. (cf. p. 6), actually occur in the O. E. literature or whether Scand. influence on monuments like the poem of Bēowulf (cf. Sarrazin, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XI p. 180 ff., 528 ff., Engl. Stud. XXIII p. 223 ff., Sievers, P. B. B. XI p. 354 ff., XII p. 168 ff.) may possiby be assumed. At any rate, no word in Bēowulf can by test of form be proved to be of Scand. origin.

the times of the invasion, the Scandinavian material, necessary for our purposes, must be taken from periods of much later dates, often even from Scand. dialects of the present time. It is therefore very difficult to know whether a word found only in a late dialect of East- or West-Scand., did not at the time of the invasion exist in other dialects. The Scand. words therefore which will be quoted in this treatise as sources of Scandinavian loan-words, are only a substitute for the words of the language, spoken at the times of the invasion. Thus if I say that an English word is from a quoted West- or East-Scandinavian word, this only means to say that it is from a word existing in the dialects spoken by the Scandinavians in England, and represented in later times by the quoted Scandinavian word; and if only either a West- or an East-Scandinavian word is quoted as the source of some loan-word, this does not always imply that the loan-word is distinctly of West- or East-Scandinavian origin. It is to be borne in mind that we know much more of the Old West-Scandinavian vocabulary than of the Old East-Scandinavian one, and that therefore a Scandinavian loan-word, the source-word of which is only found in West-Scand., may very often quite as well be from East-Scand., and very often is more likely to be so, considering the fact that the Danes were more numerous in England than the Norwegians. Old Norwegian and Icelandic words are generally quoted as 'West-Scand.', as it is unnecessary and generally very difficult to discriminate between Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic words, and as both languages were as to their vocabulary and general appearance in old times much the same. As for East-Scandinavian, it will be more convenient to describe the words as 'Danish' or 'Swedish' than as 'East-Scandinavian'. Very often words are only quoted from Swedish and not from Danish. This depends partly on the fact that the Swedish vocabulary of different periods is better known, at present, than the Danish (the O. Danish Dictionary by Kalkar and the Dan. Dial. Dictionary (of Jutland) by Feilberg being as yet uncompleted), partly on the fact, that Swedish is far less advanced in phonetic changes and therefore clearer as to the groundforms of the words than Danish. The quotation of Swedish words, therefore, does not by any means imply that the

loan-words in question are borrowed from Swedish. Although Swedes also took part in the invasion (many Old Swedish runic monuments tell us of Swedes who had died in England, *e. g.* Liljegren 892, from Södermanland), we have few reasons for believing that they were so numerous as to exercise any influence on the English language. And even if they were, we should not be able to tell the Swedish loan-words from the Danish ones, because we know scarcely anything about the differences between Danish and Swedish at so early a date; moreover we have reasons for believing that the two languages were not then sufficiently differentiated to leave any distinctive trace in the loan-words introduced from them into English.

§ 9. Some material for the knowledge of the nationalities of the Northmen in England and also for other purposes, linguistic and historical, may be derived from a careful study of the Scandinavian proper names found in documents (in Latin or English) of O. E. and early M. E. times. As I have had no opportunity of examining these proper names more closely, I must here content myself with giving a list of names selected from among those I have come across during my studies. Although the list is very defective and does not in any way pretend to be complete, it may still be of some use to those who will make the matter a subject of deeper investigation. My chief sources are the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles (= Chr.), Kemble, Cod. Dipl. Anglo-Sax. (= K.), Gray Birch, Cartul. Saxonicum (= Cart.) and Searle, Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum Cambr. 1887 (= S.) which latter work contains an account of books useful for the purpose. — As a rule, I do not give the names in their corresponding Scandinavian form as found in Scandinavian sources, partly because it is often unnecessary, partly because such a task had better be put off till the Dictionary of Scandinavian names, which is being prepared by the Assist. Librarian of the University of Upsala, E. H. Lind, has been published.

Ælfcytel, S.

Agmund, Napier and Stevenson Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. VII p. 149.

Anlaf, Onlaf (A. D. 937, 942 etc.), S., Chr. (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937).

Ape, Appe, -a, S.

Arkil, Arcytel (cf. O. Dan. *Arnkel*),[1]) S.
Arnald (cf. O. W. Sand. *Arnaldr*, O. E. *Earnweald*), S.
Aregrim (cf. O. Dan. *Arngrim*), S.
Arfast (cf. O. W. Scand. *Arnfastr*), S.
Asbiorn, Asbeorn (A. D. 871, 1070 etc.) S.
Asbrand, S.
Ascytel, Ascetel, Askyl etc., S., Hruschka I p. 15.[2])
Asfrith, S.
Asgar, Asgær, S., Hruschka l. c. I p. 16.
Asgot, S., *Asgout* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[2] § 26, Anm.).
Asgrim, S.
Aslac, S., K. IV p. 9.
Asli (cf. O. Dan. *Asli*), S.
Asmod, S.
Asmund, S.
Asser (cf. O. Dan. *Assur*), S.
Astrith, Estrith A. D. 1030), S.
Asulf, S.
Atser, Adser, Azor, Atsor, Atser roda, S., K. IV p. 69.
Auðcetel, see Blandinger, Udg. av Univers. Jubil. Danske Samfund 1881 p. 64.
Aþulf, S., *Aðulf* (*dux*), *Oðulf* (a Danish hold) K. II p. 53 (A. D. 857), Chr.
Barde, Bardi, S.
Barath, Bard, S.
Beorn, Chr. 1046, 1049.
Berhthor, Beorhthor, S.
Besi, S.
Bouiȝ, Boſiȝ, Boui, S., K. p. 9 (cf. O. E. *Bōfa*, Sweet, O. E. T. p. 643).
Brenting, Cart. No. 1130.
Bruncel, Bruncytel, S.
Bondi, Bondius, K. IV p. 151, K. IV p. 180.
Bundi, Bunda, Bundo (cf. O. Dan. *Bundi, Bondi*).

Car, S.
Carl, Karl, S., K. IV p. 67.
Carle, S.
Katla, Catlan (gen.) S., Cart. No. 1130.
Ketel, Cytel, S., Cart. No. 1130 etc.
Cytelbearn, S.
Cloſiȝe (O. W. Scand. *Klaufi*), S.
Cnut, Cnuto, S., Cart. No. 1130, 1266.
Colbeȝn, Colbein, S.
Colbrand, S.
Cole (O. Dan. *Kole*), S.
Colswegen, Colsuen, S.
Crok, Krok, S.
Copman, S.

Drabba, Cart. No. 1130.

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[1]) The Danish names are taken from Nielsen, Olddanske Personenavne, Copenhagen 1883.

[2]) Hruschka, Zur angelsächsischen Namenforschung I, II, Gymnasialprogramm, Prag 1884, 1885.

Ebbe, -i, -a, S.
Egil, S.
Eglaf, Eilaf etc., Chr. 1025, K. IV p. 6, 9, 29 etc., Napier and Stevenson Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. VII, p. 142.
Eignulf, Æinulf, K. II p. 409, Cart. No. 1280.
Egricus, Napier and Stevenson p. 139, 143.
Erling, S.
Esbern, S., Hruschka I p. 15.
Esgar, S.
Estrith, S.

Fastulf, S.
Felage, S.
Frana, Fræna, Frena, Friena, K. III p. 72, 221, 286, Chr. 993, Cart. No. 1130, 1266, 1270, 1280, 1297.
Friðolf, Cart. No. 1130.

Gamal, S., K. IV p. 44.
Goda, Chr. 988.
Gota, Cart. No. 1266.
Grim, S., Cart, No. 1130.
Grimkill, Grimcytel, S., Cart. No. 1130.
Guner, Gunar, Gunner(e), Gunhere etc., S., K. II p. 350, 390, Chr. 966, Cart. (A. D. 931).
Guncytel, S.
Gunhild, Gunnild S., Chr. 1045 (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937).
Gunni, S.
Gunweard, S.
Gunulf, S.
Guþferð, Guðferþ, Chr. 927, 944.
Guþrum, Guthrum, Gyðrum, Godrum, Guthorm, S., Cart. (A. D. 880, 931, 932), Chr. 875, 890 etc. (cf. Napier and Stevenson p. 75).
Guðrun (dux), Cart. (A. D. 931).

Hacon, Hacun, S.
Had, Hað, Cart. (A. D. 931).
Harald, Harold, S., Chr. 871, 952, 1016, 1030, 1035 etc.
Harthacnut, Harðacnut, Hardacnut, S., Chr. 1036, 1037, 1040 etc.
Heyng, Cart. No. 1017.
Helgi, S.
Helgrim, S.
Heming, Hemming (a Danish chief), S.
Ræfen, Rœuen, S.
Ræfncytel, S.
Hraniz, Raniz, S. (cf. p. 21 foot-note 1).
Hringulf, Cart. No. 1266 (Kent, A. D. 970), 1266, *Ringulf,* Chr. 971, 972, 1051, K. III p, 95, Cart. No. 1280 etc.
Ringwald, Chr. 1038.
Ringware, Chr. 1037.
Hroald, S., Chr. 918, Hruschka II p. 6, *Rold,* K. II p. 359, IV p. 44.
Rodulf Stallare, Rothwulf, Rolf,

S., Cart. No. 1130, Hruschka II p. 6.[1])
Hwitbeorn, S.

Ingeson (from *Grimesby*), Rolls of Parl. III p. 401.
Inwær, Iwer, Hinguar, Kluge, p. 937.
Jukil (subregulus), K. II p. 413.
Justen, Justan, Jiustegn, S.

Laif, S.

Malte, S.
Manniz, Monna, Manna, S.

Nafana (O. Dan. *Nawne*), S.
Norðman, Cart. No. 1256.

Odda, S., Cart. (A. D. 932).
Oðen, Oðon, Othin etc., S., Brate p. 76, Kluge p. 937.
Odincarl, Othencarl, S.
Olaf, S., Chr. 1028, 1030.
Onlaf, S.
Orm Gamal Suna, S.
Orm, S., Cart. No. 1130, K. IV p. 44 etc.
Ormær, Ormar, Ormer (O. Dan. *Ormær* = O. H. G. *Wurmhari*).
Ormcytel, S.
Othcytel, Outhcel, Oudcytel, Oudcel, S.
Othgrim, Outhgrim, Oudgrim, Ouðgrim (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] 26, Anm.), S.
Oudfrith, S.
Oud(w)ulf, Oth(w)ulf, S.
Oustman, Sievers l. c.

Scula, Scule, Skule, S., Cart. (A. D. 931, 932).
Scurfa, S.
Serlo, Særla, Særle (= O. W. Sand. *Sørle?*), S., K. II p. 44 etc.
Sizar, Cart. No. 1130.
Sihtric, Chr. 921 etc., Hruschka II p. 18.
Simund Danus (A. D. 1066), Hruschka II p. 19.
Stegen, Stein, Sten, S.
Stegenbeorn, Stenbeorn, S.
Stegenbit, S.
Stegenburh (nomen mulieris), S.
Stegencytel, Steigncytel, S., Cart. No. 1130.
Stegengrim, S.
Steenhart, -heard, S.
Stegenmær, -mar, S.
Stegenwulf, Steinulf, S.
Strang (a Dane), S.
Stur, Stori, S.
Styrcyr, Styrcær, Cart. No. 1130, Napier and Stevenson p. 75.
Swain, Swan, Swegen, Swægn, Swen etc., S., Chr., Cart., K.

Teit, S.
Thor, S.,[2]) Kluge p. 937.

[1]) *R-* instead of *Hr-* in *Ræfen, Rani, Ringulf, Rodulf* etc. seems to depend on the East-Scandinavian sound-change *hr-* > *r-*.

[2]) The names taken from Searle are written with *Th-*, although the MSS. generally have *Þ* or *Ð*.

Thora, S.
Þored, Thored, Thord, Thorth, Thoreth, Đureð, Thureth etc., S., K. IV p. 3, Chr. 966, Cart. No. 1270, 1280, 1297.
Thorelf, S.
Thorfast, S.
Thorfinn, S.
Thorgils, Thurgils, S.
Thori, S.
Þorkyl, Thorkell, Thurkill etc., S., K. IV p. 40, 44, Chr. 1013, 1020, 1021.
Þorod, Chr. 992.
Thorold, S.
Thrum, S.
Thruth, Thryth, S.
Þur, Thur, Thurbeȝn, S., Cart. No. 1130.
Đuri, Þuriȝ, K. IV p. 64, 131 (cf. p. 21 foot-note 1).
Þurkil, Thurcil, -cytel etc., S., Chr. 1013, Cart. No. 1266, K. III p. 358, IV p. 6 etc.
Þurcytel Heyng, S., Cart. No. 1017 (= Bequest of *Þurc. Heyng*).
Đuredus, K. III p. 46.
Þurferð, Thurfin, -gar, -gils, -god, -grim, -hild etc., S., Chr., K., Cart.
Þurlac, Cart. No. 1130.
Þurold, Cart. No. 1130.
Đurstan, S., Cart. No. 1266 etc.
Toka, Toke, Toki, Tokiȝ, (gen. *Tokes*), S., K. IV p. 47, 143.
(*Đokiȝ,* K. IV p. 75 may be an error for *Tokiȝ*).
Tobi, Tofiȝ, Toui(ȝ), S., K. IV p. 3, 9, 40, 44, 99 etc.
Toli, Toliȝ, S.
Tope, Topi, S.
Tosti, Tostiȝ, Tostinus, S., K. IV p. 123, 143, Chr. 1046, 1051 1065 etc.
Totiȝ, K. IV p. 75 (A. D. 1043) from a Scand. **Tōti* (cf. O. E. *Tota* Sweet O. E. T. p. 583) or an error for *Tociȝ.*
Toua (nom. mulieris), S.
Tuce (fem.), Cart. No. 1130.
Tufe, Cart. No. 1130.

Ulf, Vlf, S., K. III p. 72, Cart. No. 1130, 1266.
Ulfcytel, -grim, -helm, -mær, -ric etc., S., Cart. (A. D. 949), K. II p. 359 etc.
Urm, Vrm, S., Cart. (A. D. 931, 932), K. II p. 174, 203, 269, 350, V p. 200 etc.
Ustman, S.

Wagen, Napier and Stevenson p. 144.
Wicing, S.
Wiulf, Cart. No. 1130.

§ 10. An account of early English place-names of Scandinavian origin, or containing Scand. elements, would also prove extremely useful in many respects, especially for the

question of the distribution of the different Scandinavian tribes in England. Many such names are known in O. E. and M. E. times, *e. g. Ormesby* Cart. Sax. No. 1017. As I have not as yet had the opportunity of making any collections of the kind, I cannot here enter on the question. An investigation into the present distribution of place-names would also be useful; thus many conclusions may be drawn from treatises concerning Mod. English place-names, especially from the material collected by Browne, Trans. Ph. Soc. 1880—81 p. 86 ff. and 322 ff.

Chapter I.

Phonetic criteria of Scandinavian loan-words in English.

Among the tests of Scandinavian loan-words in English, there are none more important or more reliable than that of form. If a word in English has a form which cannot be explained by means of internal English sound-laws, but which is easily accounted for by assuming a Scandinavian origin, we are, for the most part, entitled to consider the word in question a Scandinavian loan-word.[1]) And especially are we entitled

[1]) There are some tests of form which are not based on differences of sound-development between Scandinavian and English; some tests of form which are based on different principles of derivation have been, by the way, entered upon p. 14—20. As the subject of English derivation and wordformation is still very obscure, tests based upon the same cannot, as a rule, be for the present arrived at with any great amount of certainty. Still more difficult to judge are tests based on remains of prehistoric Teutonic suffixes, inflectional forms etc., supposed to have existed only in one of the two languages, at the time of the Danelag. Thus M. E. *aze*, *awe* sb. 'awe', M. E. *lǫn* sb. 'loan' are probably from Scand. *agi*, *lān*, the O. E. forms being *eze*, *læn*. But this test is not based on differences of a phonological kind but on the supposition that generalisation had taken place within the Teutonic paradigm of the original *s*-stems in question and solely in favour of the non-mutated forms in Scand., solely in favour of the mutated forms in English. Although such a supposition may be right, the possibility of doublets having existed in some English dialects, is not a priori excluded. — Many differences are still unexplained, *e. g.* East Scand. *græs* (> M. E. *gres*) compared to O. E. *græs*, M. E. *gras*, W. Scand. *gras*, cf. Dial. Prov. p. 24 foot-note. — M. E. *arrf-* in *arrfname* (Orrm.), Brate has explained from Scandinavian (in Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 584), because the O. E. word shows *i*-mutation (from a

to do so, if the word in question is quite clear as to its etymology and its history both in English and the Scandinavian languages. All other tests being, as a rule, more or less unreliable, it will, no doubt, be considered a good plan, first to give an account of the words which, by the test of form depending on differences of sound-development in English and in Scandinavian, are to be considered Scandinavian loan-words, especially as the conclusions we may by means of the thus gathered material arrive at, will, no doubt, throw some light also upon the great number of words in English which seem to be of Scandinavian origin but which cannot by phonetic tests be proved to be so.[1])

A necessary condition for ascertaining phonetic tests is, of course, to know the full extent and the character of the sound-laws by which a certain word has assumed a certain form in one language and to know whether the same word could not by some sound-laws have assumed the same form in the other. Another condition is to know the etymology and Teutonic groundform of the words in question. But as the phonology of Scand. and especially of M. E., is still in many points vague and obscure, and as also many etymological questions are still unsolved, the discrimination of the Scandinavian loan-words, by means of phonetic tests, is often a very difficult and complicated task. But the more the knowledge of the sound-laws of Old Scandinavian and especially of English in its different periods and dialects has increased and the more etymological science has advanced, the easier it will be to segregate the material which is to be explained by means of Scandinavian rather than English sound-laws. As matters now stand, we must content ourselves with giving an account of the tests which may now be considered quite

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base **arbio*-). But *arrf*- may very well be accounted for by an O. Anglian form from the same base as O. E. (W. Sax.) *ierfe*, *ierf-ward* etc., as is shown by the form *barrliz* 'barley' in the Orrmulum (Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143).

[1]) Still the possibility, pointed out p. 4 foot-note 3 and p. 10, of English words, even such as did not belong to the original vocabulary of the Scandinavians, appearing in a 'Scandinavianized' form, is often to be taken into account.

reliable, and with discussing the validity of those which depend on phonetic and etymological phenomena still more or less obscure.

I. Tests based on prehistoric differences between Scandinavian and West Teutonic.

In Scandinavian as well as in Gothic an original *ɣɣ* has, under circumstances not fully cleared up as yet, changed into *ggɣ* (written *ggw* in Gothic); under circumstances apparently the same, an original *jj* has changed to *ggj* in Scandinavian (in Gothic to *ddj*).[1]) In West Teutonic such a sound-change never takes place. Consequently, if *gg* occurs in words in English which contained *ɣɣ*, *jj* in early West Teutonic, these words are no doubt Scandinavian loan-words. The cases in which such a *gg* is to be found are:

1. M. E. *big* 'barley' Wr. Voc. 726, 17 (written *bige*), early N. E. *bigge*, N. E. dial. (Scotl. and N. Engl.) *bigg* 'a coarse kind of barley, with four rows on each head' (N. E. D., E. D. D., Wall p. 91): O. W. Scand. *bygg*, early Dan. *biug*, N. Dan. *byg*, O. Swed. *biug*, N. Swed. *bjugg*. The veritable English form is O. E. *bēow* 'barley' (Sweet Stud. A.-S. Dict.).

M. E. *biggen* 'to build, cultivate, inhabit', also 'to abide, dwell'; it occurs for the first time in the Orrmulum (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 34)[2]) and then in such texts as E. E. Ps., Gen. & Ex., MS. of Langl. P. Pl. A and B, Gaw., Pr. P. etc. (cf. N. E. D.), N. E. dial. (esp. Scotl. and N. Engl.) *big* 'to build' (E. D. D., N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *byggua*, *byggia*, O. Swed. *byggia* etc. 'to inhabit, dwell in, build etc.'. The same word-stem occurs in such derivatives as: M. E. *bigginge* sb. 'habitation, edificacio, structura, edificium', Gen. & Ex. v. 718, C. M. v. 23453, Isum. 78, P. S. 151, Pr. P. p. 35 etc., N. E. dial. *biggin(g)*, *biggen* 'building, house, cottage' (E. D. D.). Cf. O. W. Scand. *bygging* 'building'. M. E. *bigger* sb. 'builder' (Stratm.-Bradley),

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[1]) Concerning these well known sound-changes, it will be enough to refer to Holtzmann, Altdeutsche Grammatik I, 109, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 380 f., Noreen, Urgermanische Lautlehre, p. 160 ff. and the references made by this latter author.

[2]) Concerning the shape of the *g*'s in the Orrmulum, see Napier, E. E. T. S. 103, p. 72.

N. E. dial. *bigger* vb. 'to build' (E. D. D.), N. E. dial. *biggerstangs* 'scaffolding poles for building' (E. D. D.). M. E. *bigli* 'pleasant, inhabitable' (Stratm.-Bradley), N. E. dial. *bigli* 'pleasant, delightful, commodious' (E. D. D.). For the etymology of the word-stem, see Tamm, Et. Svensk Ordb. s. v. *bygga*. The distribution in M. E. and N. E. dialects of the words of this stem *bigg-* (esp. Scotl. and North E.) is easily seen from the dictionaries.

N. E. dial. *dag* sb. 'dew, a thin or gentle rain, a wet fog, a mist, a heavy shower, etc.' (E. D. D., Wall, Anglia XX, p. 95, N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *dag* vb. 'to drizzle, to bedew, to rain, to sprinkle water with the hand' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand. *dǫgg* sb. 'dew', O. Swed. *dag*, N. Swed. *dagg* etc. — The veritable West Teutonic form is O. E. *dēaw*, N. E. *dew*, cf. O. H. G. *tou* etc. — N. E. *deg* 1. vb. 'to sprinkle water upon anything, to bedew, moisten, soak, to drizzle with rain'. 2. sb. 'damp, moisture, a drop of water' (E. D. D.) in many cases is identical with O. W. Scand. *døggua*, Norw. dial. *deggja* (Aasen), Swed. dial. *dögga* (Rietz) 'to bedew', but may sometimes depend on an English dialectal development of *agg* > *egg* (as in the dial. of Windhill, Wright p. 29); from the stem *dagg-* is formed N. E. (dial.) *daggle* vb. 'to sprinkle with water, to moisten, wet with dew or spray' (N. E. D., E. D. D., cf. Skeat Et. D. s. v.)[1])

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[1]) M. E. *bi-daggen* 'to bemire the bottom of (dress), to splash with clay' (see N. E. D., E. D. D., cf. Palsgrave: *I bedagge* 'I araye a garment aboute the skyrtes with myre'), N. E. dial. *dag* 'to trail in the mire', N. E. dial. *daggle* 'to trail in the wet or dirt, to clog, wet with mud' (E. D. D., N. E. D.), early N. E. and N. E. dial. *bedaggle* (= *bedaggen*) etc. are generally considered to be, all or some, from the same Scandinavian source (cf. *e. g.* E. D. D., Zupitza, Herrig's Archiv LXXVI, p. 207, Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *bidaggen*, Storm, Englische Philol.[2] I, p. 492). Meanwhile, the sense, especially of the comparatively early recorded *bi-daggen* does not very well agree with this etymology. These words are therefore rather to be considered as originally unconnected with *dag* 'dew' (thus, for the most part, N. E. D.), although they may have been, owing to coincidence in form, in later times confused with the above words of Scand. origin (cf. N. E. D. s. v. *daggle* vb.). Is there any relationship between M. E. *bi-daggen* etc. and Low Germ. dial. (Ostfriesland) *dagge* (abusive word) 'slut, slattern, dirty person' etc. (see ten Doornkaat-Koolman Wb. d. Ostfr. Sprache, s. v.)?

M. E. *gleg* (*of ei*) adj. 'clearsighted' C. M. 13448, N. E. dial. *gleg* adj. 'clearsighted' (cf. Wall, Anglia XX, p. 103): O. W. Scand. *gløggr* 'clearsighted', O. Swed. *løgger* 'sharpsighted' etc. (cf. Goth. *glaggwuba*, *glaggwō* adv. 'carefully, diligently'); genuine West Teutonic forms are O. E. *glēaw* 'clearsighted, wise', O. Sax., O. H. G. *glau* 'wise, prudent', L. G. dial. (Ostfriesland) *glau* 'sharp-sighted, shrewd' (ten Doornkaat-Koolman, Wb. d. Ostfr. Spr.). — Der. N. E. dial. *gleg* vb. 'to glance' (cf. Wall, l. c.).

M. E. *hag* 'a break, gap' C. M. 9886, N. E. dial. *hag* sb. 'a cutting, hewing', M. E. *haggen* vb. 'to cut, hew, chop' D. Troy. 10023, N. E. dial. *hag* 'to hew, chop, hack' (Wall, Anglia XX, p. 105, cf. N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *høggua*, O. Swed. *hugga*, Gotlandish *hagga* (< **haggu̯an*) etc. — The West Teutonic forms are O. E. *hēawan*, O. H. G. *houwan* etc. From the Scand. stem is M. E. *hagworm* 'jaculus' Cath. Angl., N. E. dial. *hagworm* 'a viper', see N. E. D., Wall, l. c.

M. E. *nig* 'niggardly' (*nig and hand in al his liue* Herrig's Arch. LII, p. 36), der. M. E. *nigard*, *nigart* (*nekar, nekart?*), *nigun* adj., sb. 'niggard, miser', M. E. *nigardie* 'stinginess', N. E. *niggard* etc., N. E. dial. *niggle* (E. Anglia) 'to be mean, parsimonious', *niggling* 'mean' (Wall, Anglia XX, p. 113): Scand. **hniggu̯-*, which although not directly recorded, no doubt, once existed (cf. Johansson, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XIV, p. 341, Söderberg, Filol. Sällskapets i Lund förhandlingar 1881—1888, p. 73) and is already suggested by Swed. dial. *niggla* 'to be parsimonious' (= N. E. dial. *to niggle*), cf. Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV, p. 142. The recorded Scand. forms are: O. W. Scand. *hnøggr* (< **hnaggu̯-*) 'niggardly, stingy', Swed. dial. *nägg* (Rietz p. 460, cf. Norelius, Arkiv f. Nord., Fil. I, p. 224), N. Swed. *niugg* (< **hnyggu̯-* < **hniggu̯-*, cf. Wadstein, Fornnorska Homiliebokens ljudlära p. 150 f., Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. p. 118). The veritable West Teutonic form is O. E. *hnēaw* 'stingy, near, niggardly'.[1])

[1]) Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Etymology s. v. *niggard* say: 'the formation of the M. E. words (viz. M. E. *nigard* with the by-form *nigoun* 'niggard') points to Fr. influence'. Nevertheless I find no reason for doubting the old and current derivation from Scand.: firstly, there are no such words found in French, and, secondly, a Romance suffix added to a word-root

N. E. dial. *scug* vb. 'to hide; to take shelter', also 'to frown' (cf. Gregor, The Dial. of Banffshire, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1860, Wall p. 118), *scug* sb. 'a place of shelter' (Halliwell, Flügel), also 'a frown, gloomy countenance' (Gregor l. c.); der. *scuggery* 'secrecy' Yorksh. (Halliwell): O. W. Scand. *skuggi* sb. 'a shade, shadow', Norw. dial. *i skugg* 'secretly' (Aasen), N. Swed. *skugga* 'a shade, shadow'; O. W. Scand. *skyggia*, *skyggua* 'to overshadow, screen from, etc.', N. Dan. *skygge* vb. 'to overshadow, shelter', N. Swed. *skygd* sb. 'shelter, protection'. Concerning the etymology, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *schauen*, Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 162, Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. d. got. Sprache s. v. *skuggwa*. There are no genuine W. Teutonic forms to be found containing *gg*.

Although most probably a loan-word, the origin of the *gg* is not absolutely certain in M. E. *stiggen* (*he stiggis with his name*) Alex. (Sk.) 5301 'to start, feel abashed': O. W. Scand. *styggia*, *styggua* vb. 'to make shy, to frighten away', *styggiask* vb. 'to shun, abhor', *styggiask with* 'to be offended with'; the verb is derived from the adj. *styggr*, as to the probable etymology of which, see Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 162.

M. E. *trigg* 'faithful, secure' Orrm.[1]), early N. E. and N. E. dial. *trig* 'safe, tight, firm, neat, trim etc.', see Cent. Dict.: O. W. Scand. *tryggr* 'trusty, faithful, true', Dan. *tryg*, Swed. *trygg* 'secure' (cf. Goth. *triggws*); the genuine W. Teut. form is O. E. *trēowe*, *trīewe* 'true, faithful', O. H. G. *gitriuwi* etc. The Scand. word-stem *tryggw-* is also found in the nom. pr. O. E. *Sihtric* Chr. 921 etc. < O. Scand. *Sigtryggr*.[2])

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of Teutonic origin, is by no means uncommon in English (cf. *e. g.* M. E. *eggment* 'incitement' C. M., Ch., Pr. P., see N. E. D., N. E. *drunkard* etc., Sweet, New Engl. Gram. I, p. 481).

[1]) Concerning the shape of the *g*'s, see Napier, E. E. T. S. 103 p. 72.

[2]) According to Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 162, *gg* in O. W. Scand. *rǫgg* 'a tuft, shagginess', Swed. *ragg* 'rough hair' etc., is due to the common Teutonic lengthening in certain cases of *ɣ* > *ɣɣ* (> Scand. and Gothic *gg*). If this be true, N. E. *rag* (cf. O. E. *raggie* adj. 'setosa' in the Glosses ed. by Bouterwek in Haupt's Zeitschrift IX p. 524) must, of course, be a Scand. loan-word. But as long as the etymology of the Scand. word is somewhat doubtful, we are not entitled to consider the English word as proved by test of form and etymology to be a Scand. loan-word, although, of course, it may, very probably, be so. Also in M. E. *rugged* 'rugged, hispidus', M. E. *ruggi* 'hairy', N. E. *rug* *gg* may seem, from the material

2. M. E. *egg* 'ovum' Langl. B. X 1, 343, Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *egg*, O. Swed. *æg*, N. Swed. *ägg*, Dan. *æg* etc.; the genuine West Teutonic form is O. E. *æʒ*, O. H. G. *ei* etc.[1])

II. Tests based on differences between Scandinavian and English sound development.

A. Distinctly Scandinavian diphthongs and vowels in Scandinavian loan-words.

1. Scandinavian *æi, ei.*

Teutonic *ai* has already in prehistoric English become contracted into *ā*, and the *i*- mutation of this *ā* is O. E. *æ* > M. E. *ę*. In some Scandinavian dialects, on the other hand, the same Teutonic diphthong has remained uncontracted up to this day, in others it has been contracted into a close *ē*, the main particulars of the history of Teutonic *ai* in Scandinavian being the following: In Danish the diphthong was contracted before literary times (about 1050) into *ē* (cf. Wimmer, Die Runenschrift p. 329, Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 539); in some

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I have gathered, to be distinctively Scand., owing to the above mentioned transition *ɣɣ* > *ggɣ*. But these words are perhaps connected with O. H. G. *rūh*, N. E. *rough*, N. H. G. *rauh* 'rough, hairy, shaggy', and if this be the case, *gg* is developed from an original *h*(+*n*?). I must here abstain from entering further upon this very difficult question and content myself with giving the material I have gathered for the purpose: Norw. dial. *ru* sb. fem. 'wool' (Aasen), Icel. *rú* sb. neutr. 'wool' (Jónsson), O. W. Scand. *rýja* vb., see Noreen l. c., Norw. dial. *rya* 'a rug, a rough woollen cloth' (Aasen, Ross), O. Swed. *rogh* probably some sort of cover (see Söderwall, Ordb.), Dan. *ry* sb. 'a bedcover' (Molb. Gloss. p. 77), which are all to be compared with O. E. *rūwa, rēowe, rý(h)e, rēo* (< *rȳhæ* Ep., see Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 117, 2) 'a rug' (Bosw.-Toller); forms with *gg* are : Dan. dial. *rag* 'wool' (Molb. Dan. Dialectlexicon), Norw., Swed. *ragg* 'rough hair, esp. of goats', Norw. dial. *rugga* 'a rug of rough cloth, a thick bed-cover' (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. *rugga* 'a yearling duck which has lost its feathers' (Rietz), Swed. dial. *rugga* vb. 'to mew, moult' (Rietz), O. Swed. *ruggoter* 'rugosus, tuberosus' (Söderwall), N. Swed. *ruggig*. In some of these words it is not easy to decide, whether *u* in *ugg* is original or has been developed from an older *o* (cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 109 and note).

[1]) *gg* possibly represents a Teut. *ɟɟ* also in N. E. dial. *cleg* 'a gadfly' (N. E. D.) < O. W. Scand. *kleggi* (cf. Johansson, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIV p. 319) and in M. E. *rig* 'a storm', from O. W. Scand. *hregg* (cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 187).

parts of Sweden, the contraction had already taken place before 1000, in other parts it took place later (it was generally carried out in Swedish about 1200, cf. Noreen l. c., Altschwed. Gramm. p. 116). In West-Scand. the diphthong remained uncontracted, namely as *ei* in O. Icel. and as *æi* in O. Norwegian (cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 581, Altisl. Gramm. p. 63).[1]) Consequently, if we find words in English which had the diphthong *ai* in Teutonic times, but do not show the regular O. E. *ā* (*ǣ*) or its later developments but instead show a vowel which can be derived from the Scand. diphthong, these words are, as a rule, of Scand. origin, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 940.

In the Scandinavian loan-words, the Teutonic diphthong *ai* generally remained uncontracted, and seems very rarely to have been contracted before their introduction into English. The diphthong was in O. E. generally written *eȝ* or *æȝ*; there was no sound quite corresponding to the Scand. diphthong in the oldest periods of O. E., probably not even in the periods when Scand. loan-words began to find their way into O. E.; the diphthong therefore seems to have been superseded by O. E. *eȝ* (as in O. E. *weȝ* 'a way') or by O. E. *æi* (as in *dæȝ* 'a day'), and in later times followed all the developments of these sound-groups. When final, the diphthong seems, with the exception of the word *þei* (Orm. *þeȝȝ*), to have been represented only by (O. E. *æi*), M. E. *ai*, cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 585 f., Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 185.[2]) Thus Orrm has *þeȝȝ* 'they', *greȝȝþen* 'to prepare', but *aȝȝ*, *naȝȝ*; the O. E. H., treated of by Krüger, Sprache und Dial. der Me. Hom., Erlangen 1885,

[1]) Under certain circumstances, Teutonic *ai* is represented by Scand. *ā*, too, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 57, Altschwed. Gr. § 80.

[2]) In O. E., spellings with *æȝ* for the Scand. diphthong seems to be quite as frequent as the spelling *eȝ*. It is therefore very difficult to make out to which of the two O. E. sound-combinations it was the more similar. The Orrmulum writes *eȝȝ*, which shows that in the O. E. dialect upon which Orrm's dialect rests, the diphthong was substituted by *eȝ*. The conclusions to be drawn from other M. E. records seem to be the same, but most of these records are of little use for the question: in the early Southern dialects the Scand. material is very scarce, and O. E. *eȝ* and *æȝ* were, as a rule, both represented in them by *ei*; the Midland and Northern texts are — with the exception of the Orrmulum — from a period when the sounds of *ei* and *ai* began to be confused or had both become *ai*, cf. Skeat, Princ. I p. 463, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 185 f.

have *þei* but *nai* (Krüger p. 22); Deb. of the Body and the Soul has *greithe, they, their,* but *ay, nay* (cf. Heesch, Diss. Kiel 1884 p. 8 ff.).

The material to be taken into consideration as containing the Scand. diphthong is the following one.

a) Words found already in Old English.

These are not very numerous, the main part consisting of proper names in O. E. charters and other texts. I give here a short collection of such names without by any means pretending to have exhausted the extant material.

-þegn, -þein in *Colþein, Thurbegn* (cf. O. W. Scand *Kolbeinn*), Searle, Onom. A. S.

Egricus (cf. O. W. Scand. *Eiríkr*), *Eglaf, Eilaf* etc., see p. 25 f.

Haythaby in the Chronicle of Ethelwerd (Lat.), from the end of the 10th century, Mon. Hist. Brit. I p. 502 (cf. O. W. Scand. *Heiðabýr*, Dan. *Hedeby*).

Stegen, Stein (cf. O. W. Scand. *Steinn*, O. Swed. *Stēn*), *Justegn* (cf. O. W. Scand. *Jósteinn*) etc., Searle l. c., *Stegenbeorn, Stegenbit, Stegenburh, Stegncytel* etc.; cf. p. 27.

Swegen (cf. O. W. Scand. *Sveinn*, O. E. Scand. *Swēn*) Sax. Chr. 994 etc., gen. *Swegnes* Cart. Sax. No. 1117, *Colswegen* (cf. O. W. Scand. *Kolsveinn*), Searle l. c., *Swein* Sax. Chr. 1049, *Swægn* Sax. Chron. 1076, *Swægnes* Sax. Chron. 1068, 1075, *Suain e. g.* Henry of Huntingdon Chron. (Lat.), Mon. Hist. Brit. I p. 752 (cf. Jessen, Nord. Tidskr. f. Filol. I. p. 223, Mon. Hist. Brit. p. 1031).

Teit (O. W. Scand. *Teitr*), Searle l. c.[1])

The other words are:

O. E. *scægð, sce(i)gð, sceið* (*scehð, scæd, sceð*)[2]) 'a light, swift vessel' (cf. O. W. Scand. *skeið* 'a ship'), also in the com-

[1]) Occasionally forms with *e* instead of the diphthong occur, *e. g. swen* Kemble IV p. 162 (A. D. 1065), probably due to the East Scand. contraction of (*ai* >) *æi* > *e*; or are such forms due to the W.-Sax. sound-law given by Sievers, Ags. Gr.[2] § 214, 3? The inverted spelling *eg* instead of *ē* in O. E. *þegnest* (also *þē(o)nest*) 'service' (< O. W. Scand. *þiónusta*), is also to be taken into account, although *eg* may in this word be accounted for by the influence of the O. E. *þegn* (*þēn*) 'servant'.

[2]) *scæð, sceð* seem to represent *scæð, scēð*; the palatal *g* probably having been dropped before *ð* according to the West-Saxon sound-law

pound *scæȝð-man* (*sceȝð-* etc.) 'pirate', see Bosw.-Toller s. v., Steenstrup, Danelag p. 155, Napier and Stevenson l. c. p. 23, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 6 Anm. 1. This word occurs as early as the end of the 10th century; although rather frequent in O. E., it has not been found in M. E., which may depend on its being a technical term for the ships of the Vikings, cf. Dial. prov. p. 9 foot-note 4.

O. E. *bātswezen* 'boatman', Earle, Land Charters and Saxonic Documents p. 254 (11th century), cf. Hall, Stud. A. S. Dict., Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 261: O. W. Scand. *sveinn*, O. Swed. *swēn* 'boy, lad, man, servant' — the genuine English form being O. E. *swān* 'a herd, a swine-herd'.

As dubiously Scand. I regard the O. E. *hael*, *haeliȝ*, *staȝan*, *wae* which according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, 935, 1034, 1049, should represent the pronunciations **hail*, **hailiȝ*, **wai*, **staikan* from Scand. *heill* etc.[1]) O. E. *hael* (as greeting) Durh. B. may be the native form *hāl* (cf. M. E. *heal* (= *hęl*) *us*! Marh. 22); *haeliȝ*, by Kluge p. 1034 given as occurring in the Durh. B., is not to be found in Cook's Glossary; the spelling, which occurs in Durh. Rit. (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 296 gives North. *hāliȝ*), might depend on *i*-mutation (cf. Lindelöf, Spr. d. Rituals v. Durh. p. 30), from a base **hailiȝ-* > *hāliȝ* (Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 52) or on the influence of related words containing *ā*; cf. M. E. *hēlī*, Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gram. p. 192. That O. E. *staȝan* should denote *staikan*, cannot be proved by any parallels. As for O. E. *wae*, (*wā*) Durh. B., Rushw.[1], Rushw.[2], Vesp. Ps. (cf. Brown, Diss. Gött. p. 69), monophthongal pronunciation is rendered probable by the fact that in Durh. B. the word is once written *wę* (once *we*, cf. Cook, Glossary) which cannot represent a diphthongal pronunciation. Moreover, Vesp. Ps. and Rushw.[1] show no traces of Scand. influence. Possibly

given by Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 214, 3. The product of the East-Scand. monophthongisation was a close *ē*-sound, and it is therefore improbable that *scæð* could depend on this East-Scand. monophthongisation; moreover the word is not found in East Scand. in a sense corresponding to O. E. *scæȝð* etc., cf. Dial. Prov. p. 9 foot-note 4.

[1]) *ae* is sometimes used in Rushw., Durh. B. etc., instead of *æ* to denote *æ* and *ǽ*, cf. Brown, Diss. Gött. p. 15 f., 69 f., Miss Lea Anglia XVI p. 66 f., 92

the *æ* of the word depends on Lat. *væ*. Concerning O. E. *weilawei, wezla,* see p. 51.

b) Words found in Middle English:

M. E. *agz* Orrm., *ay, ai* H. M., Gen. & Ex. 87 (rime-word *day* 'day'), C. M., Ch., Hav., M. Hom. etc., *ei* Sir Gowther, Songs of a Prisoner (= Rel. Ant. I 275, cf. Ellis E. E. P. I p. 436) 'ever, always', see N. E. D. and other Dictionaries. This M. E. word must be a Scand. loan-word: O. W. Scand. *ei, ey, ey* 'ever', O. Swed. *ē* 'always' (Rydqvist, Ordbok öfver Sv. Språket).[1]) Scand. origin has been once doubted by Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 32, but ibidem p. 585, he considers the word undoubtedly Scand., as I think, rightly, because it cannot easily be otherwise explained.[2])

M. E. *bein, beyn* Amad. (Web.) 514, Pr. P. p. 29, *bain* adj. C. M. 28806, A. P., Gaw. etc., 'direct, prompt, ready', *unbain, unbeyne* C. M. 17735, *unbein* Anglia IV p. 186 'not ready', N. E. dial. *bain* 'flexible, ready, willing, direct' E. D. D.: O. W. Scand. *beinn* 'straight, direct', Swed. dial. *ben* adv. 'immediately, directly' (Rietz). — There is no corresponding word of English origin to be found.[3])

M. E. *beyn* in the proper name *Birkabeyn* Hav. 2157, 2209 etc.: O. W. Scand. *Birkibeinn* (a nickname), see Fritzner, Ordb. s. v.

M. E. *beggsk* Orrm. 6698 (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 33), *baiske* ca. 1300, see N. E. D., *bask* Wicl. 'harsh, bitter, sharp', N. E. dial. *bask* 'sharp, bitter, rough to the taste' E. D. D. (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 7 foot-note 2): O. W. Scand. *beiskr*, O. Swed. *besk*.

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[1]) The Scand. words offer some difficulties as to the explanation of their different forms, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 57, Anm. 2, Altschwed. Gramm. § 69, 7, 80 I, 2. Although there are forms in Scand. with *ey* beside *ei*, I give the M. E. word here, because we have here to do with an original Teutonic *ai*, not with one of the Scand. *ey*'s from an older (*au*) *ǫu* by *i*-mutation.

[2]) Concerning Mod. E. *aye, ay* 'yes', see N. E. D., Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 543.

[3]) The relationship to O. E. *bān* 'bone', N. H. G. *Bein* etc., of course, is very obscure, and even if the words were originally identical, such a consideration would still be of no interest for our purpose.

M. E. *beȝȝtenn* vb. Orrm., *beite* Hav., *beiton* 'commordeo' Pr. P. p. 29, etc. *baiten* C. M., Ch., D. Arth. (= E. E. T. S. 8) etc. 'to bait, set dogs on, etc.', see N. E. D., N. E. dial. *to bait* 'to feed, pasture, to tease, worry', see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. *beita* originally 'to cause to bite, to hunt etc.', O. Swed. *bēta* 'pascere, pasci' etc. Genuine English forms are O. E. *bǣtan* (< **baitjan*) 'to furnish with bit, coerce, restrain, hunt, bait, worry', *grīstbātian* 'to grind or gnash the teeth', *grīstbātung* sb. fem. 'gnashing of teeth', *ȝebǣtu* n. pl. 'bit, bridle', etc.

M. E. *baite* sb. 'bait, food' C. M. 16031, etc., N. E. dial. *bait* sb. 'food, meal', etc., E. D. D.: O. W. Scand. *beit*, O. Swed. *bēt* 'food, pasture'; O. Dan. *bed* 'hunting, food, bait'; cf. prec. word.[1])

M. E. *baiþen* Wright Lyr. Poems, Gaw., D. Erk. 'to grant, agree, consent' (see Dictionaries): O. W. Scand. *beiða* 'to ask, beg', O. Swed. *bēdha(s)*.

M. E. *bleik(e)*, *bleyk(e)*, Hav. 470, Pr. P. p. 39, *blayke* A. P. I 27 'pale': O. W. Scand. *bleikr*, O. Swed. *blēker*, Dan. *bleg*. The corresponding genuine English word is O. E. *blāc*, M. E. *blǫke* 'pale'.

M. E. *bleiken* P. S. 341 'to turn pale': cf. O. W. Scand. *bleikja*, O. Swed. *blēkia* 'to make pale' (= O. E. *blǣcan* 'make pale, bleach'); perhaps the M. E. verb is formed on English ground from the adj. M. E. *bleike*.[2])

M. E. *bleykester* (*bleystare, bleyster, bleyestare*) 'candidarius' Pr. P. 39 contains the Scand. stem *bleik-* and the English suffix *-estre* (as for which see Sweet, New Engl. Grammar p. 548).

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[1]) The interesting sense-development of these words, which we cannot here enter further upon, will be easily seen from the Dictionaries.

[2]) As for Mod. E. *bleak*, a form not occuring before the 16th century (cf. N. E. D.), its relation to the above forms is not easily determined. It may either depend on some dialectic development of M. E. *ai* (as for other instances of M. E. *ai* represented by Mod. E. [ī], see Behrens, Beitr. zur Gesch. d. frz. Spr. p. 124, Luick, Untersuchungen p. 183ff.), or on a blending of *bleach* with the N. E. development of M. E. *bleike*, or with that of (Northern Late M. E.) *blāke* (<O. Scand. *bleik*, or O. E. *blāc*) (see N. E. D.), or even be a Northern or North Midland development of O. E. *blæc(e)* adj., cf. Bosw.-Toller, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] p. 532, Karsten l. c. p. 58 (> M. E. *bleche* 'pale', Ayenb. 53, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 1031). Analogous to N. E. *bleak* is N. E. *weak*, and so is also, in a manner, N. E. *steak*, see later on.

M. E. *aymers, eymbre, eymery* 'a small piece of live coal or wood in a half extinguished fire, in plur. 'the smouldering ashes of a fire' first known use circ. 1390 (see N. E. D.), Pr. P. p. 136: O. W. Scand. *eimyrja,* Norw. dial. *eimor,* Dan. *æmmer* 'embers' (= O. E. *ǣmerge*), cf. N. E. D., Sweet H. E. S.[2] p. 317.

M. E. *fraisten* R. Br. Chron. (see N. E. D.), *fraisten* C. M., Ps., A. P. I, Gaw., Pr. C., Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessmann E. St. XXIV p. 195), Isum., Iw., D. Troy etc., *frasten* (see Luick, Unters. p. 197 f.)[1]) 'to enquire, examine, try', see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. *freista,* O. Swed. *fresta, fræsta,* early Dan. *freste, fræste* 'to examine, try'; no genuine forms with the *t*-suffix exist in English, the O. E. form being *frāsian* 'to question, tempt', cf. Tamm, Etym. Svensk Ordb. s. v. *fresta.*[2])

M. E. *gayte* 'goat' Hamp. Ps. (often), Pr. C., (*gayt skynnes*) Perc. 314, 659, 847 etc., (*gayte,* rime-word *tayte*) Perc. 253, etc. In words containing an O. E. *ā, ay* is, as a rule, not written in these records (cf. *e. g. rās* 'rose', *a(ne)* 'one', *brād* 'broad' Hamp. Ps., *bān* etc. Pr. C., *lōrd* Hamp., due to Southern influence; *laith* 'loathsome' Hamp. Ps. is Scand.; in the M. S. of Perc., O. E. *ā* has, for the most part, become *ǭ*). The spelling *ay* is, on the other hand, easily accounted for by assuming Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *geit,* O. Swed. *gēt,* Dan. *ged.* Also M. E. *geit, gehet* sg. Wicl. Lev. XXIII, 19, is very probably the Scand. word, because the English form would have been *goot* (thus Lev. XVI, 8)[3]), cf. Fischer, Diss. phil., Halle 1880, p. 29 f.

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[1]) In such texts where *ai* has become *ā* before *st* or generally (cf. Luick l. c.), there is, of course, strictly speaking, no proof of loan; the spelling *ai* in many Northern texts may denote *ā*, and in such texts, too, the proof of loan has, of course, been lost; this, in such texts, is naturally also the case with most loan-words containing the Scand. diphthong. — Although *ai* in this word is no absolute criterion, because *i* may casually depend on the following *st* (cf. M. E. *gnaisten* further on), there is nevertheless no reason for doubting Scand. origin.

[2]) The M. E. by-form *frest* 'to try, test' in C. M. depends upon the Scand. sound-change *œi* > *ĕ*, which, under certain circumstances, took place before consonant groups, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 115, Altschw. Gramm. § 80, 2; O. Swed. *fræsta,* early Dan. *fræste* are due to the same sound-change. Beside this *frest,* the same sound-change has taken place only in M. E. *enkerly,* see Dial. Prov. p. 21.

[3]) *geet* Wicl. Lev. XXII, 27 may originally be the plural-form, used

The plural *geyt(e)* Wicl. Gen. XXXII, 14, Lev. V, 10 may also be Scand., but cannot be proved to be so, because *ey* might denote *ē* (O. E. *gēt*).

M. E. *greȝȝfe* Orrm., *greyue* Hav. 266 (rime-word *gleyue*) 'herald, steward' (*grafe* 'villicus, præpositus' Wr. Voc. 683, 33): O. W. Scand. *greifi* 'count, earl', O. Swed. *grēve* 'proconsul, præfectus, centurio, comes' Söderwall, O. Dan. *greve*, cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 44. — The Scand. word is, itself, a loan-word from L. Germ. *greve* 'count; director, inspector', the O. W. Scand. *ei* being due to sound-substitution for L. Germ. *ē*. Nevertheless it would hardly be possible to regard the M. E. *greȝȝfe* as a German loan-word because the diphthong would not then be easily accounted for. The *eȝȝ* in *beȝȝsannz*, *Eȝȝnocc* in the Orrmulum, perhaps also due to sound-substitution, are not analogous.[1])

M. E. *grein* Alis. 6534, *grayn* Gaw. 211 'some (undetermined) part of a weapon', *grayne* (*a grayne of the grete see*) 'arm of a sea, branch' Alex. (Sk.) 2451, N. E. Dial. *grain* 'branch, bough, prong of a fork', *grain-staff* 'quarter-staff' Wall, Anglia XX p. 104, Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I, 464[2]): O. W. Scand. *grein* (< **greiðn*, see Bugge, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. II p. 212, Wadstein, Indogerm. Forsch. V p. 27 f.) 'branch, bough, twig', O. E. Scand. *grēn* 'branch, twig', Dan. dial. *grēn* 'twig, prong of a fork'. The corresponding native form is O. E. *ȝerēden* 'condition', cf. Bugge l. c. — As for the different sense-developments of this word, it will suffice to refer to Bugge's and Wadstein's treatises. With *grein* Alis. and *grayn* Gaw. as denoting some part of a weapon, is to be compared the nearly related O. Swed. *grēdh* (**greið*), probably 'a sword', see Wadstein l. c.

M. E. *greȝȝþenn* Orrm., *greiðen* A. R., St. Jul., H. M., Hav. etc., *grœiþen*, *graiþen* etc. 'to prepare, furnish' (see Dictionaries), a

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together with the singular-forms *oxe*, *sheep* and therefore perhaps understood as a sg. with collective sense.

[1]) Or does the M. E. word depend on a 'Scandinavianized' form, by way of sound-substitution, of O. E. *ȝerēfa* 'reeve, officer, prefect' (cf. p. 4 foot-note 2, 10)? If this be the case (which I consider very doubtful), *Eȝȝnocc* and *beȝȝsannz* might be analogous.

[2]) Is N. E. *groin* 'the fork of the body, part where the legs divide' the same word (cf. Skeat, Et. D., Princ. I p. 464, Schröer, Grieb's Wörterbuch s. v.)?

rather frequent word in all dialects of M. E. from the 13th century, N. E. dial. *graithe* 'to prepare' Wall, Anglia XX p. 104: O. W. Scand. *greiða* 'to prepare, equip'. — Formed from the same root are M. E. *greiþe* sb. 'preparation etc.', M. E. *greiþ* adj. 'prepared, equipped, direct' (cf. M. E. *graith gate* 'direct way' Langl. P. Pl. B. I 20), M. E. *greiþly* adj. 'suitable, wellplanned', M. E. *beforegreiþen* 'prepare beforehand', M. E. *agreiþing* 'dress', N. E. dial. *graith* 'gear, equipment' etc. The corresponding English formations are O. E. *ȝerǣdan* 'arrange (hair)', O. E. *ȝerǣde* 'ready' (cf. Goth. *garaiþs* 'arranged'), see Wadstein l. c.; cf. prec. word.

M. E. *heil* Best., R. Gl., Pr. C., Leb. Jesu, etc. *hœil* Laȝ., *hail* Vices and Virtues, Ayenb., R. Gl. etc. (see Dictionaries) 1. adj. 'well, healthy, sound', also in *wæs hœil* Laȝ., *washayl* R. Gl. (Pabst p. 54, rime-word *tail*) 'hail!', *wesseil* sb. Hav., *wesseilen* 'to wassail' Hav. 2. sb. 'health, prosperity, salvation'[1]) 3. interj. 'hail!'; der. *heilnesse* sb. Gen. & Ex. 'health' (for other references, see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *heill*, O. Swed. *hēl* 'whole, sound etc.' From the Scand. greeting *heill* is formed the M. E. word *heȝȝlenn* Orrm., *heylen* Langl. P. Pl., Pr. P. etc., *hailen* Laȝ. etc. 'to salute, greet' (cf. Brate l. c. p. 46). The genuine English forms are O. E. *hāl* M. E. *hǭl* 'whole, uninjured', O. E. *hǣle*, *hǣl* sb.[2]), M. E. *hǭle* 'health etc.', and in many dialects both the Scand. *heil* and the English *hāle*, *hǭle* were preserved, especially in the phrase *hail and hǭle* (see Dictionaries); in such Northern texts as distinguish between original *ai* and *ā*, *hail(e)* often occurs by the side of *hāl(e)*, owing to Scand. influence, cf. Luick, Untersuchungen p. 195.

Related to the preceding word is M. E. *heilsen* C. M. (Fairfax, Trinity), *hailsen* C. M. (Cott., Gött.), Gaw., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B. V 101, etc. 'to salute': O. W. Scand. *heilsa*, O. Swed. *hĕlsa*, *hœlsa*, O. Dan. *helse* 'to salute' (= O. E. *hālsian*, *hǣlsian* 'observe omens, implore, conjure, exorcise'.[3])

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[1]) M. E. *godder hail* Kaluza, Glossary to C. M. p. 1716, erroneously translates by 'Better health'. *Godder* is apparently dat. of *gōd*, not comp. (O. W. Scand. *góðri haili*); cf. M. E. *wrather hail*.

[2]) As for O. E. *hael*, *hœl* (*hœl ūsic* etc., see Cook, Gloss. p. 108) as a greeting, *haeliȝ*, *hœliȝ*, see p. 39.

[3]) This O. E. word is very often difficult to distinguish from O. E.

M. E. *haiþen* C. M., M. H., Hamp. Pr. C., Isum. etc., *heythen* Sege of Mel. (cf. Dannenberg, Diss. Gött. 1890 p. 29), *haþen* C. M. (Cott.) sb. and adj. 'heathen', derivations *e. g. haythenhede* C. M. 'paganism', *hathennesse* Town. M. 'heathenism', see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand. *heiðinn*, O. Swed. *hēþin*, O. Dan. *hēden* 'heathen'. As the genuine English forms show always the *i*-mutation of *ā* to O. E. *æ* > M. E. *ę* (O. E. *hæþen*, M. E. *hęthen*), the Scand. forms are, as a rule, easily distinguished from the native ones, even in such texts where *ai* has become *ā*, as in such texts the spelling *ā* as well as *ai* points to Scand. influence. The spelling *ey* only is, in some texts, ambiguous.[1])

M. E. *wheym* dat. 'to whom' Sev. Sag., ed. Weber, Metrical Romances III p. 126 (v. 3271), *whaime* Sege of Mel. 1044 (cf. Dannenberg, Diss. Gött. 1890 p. 29): O.W. Scand. *hueim*, O. Swed. *hwēm*, Dan. *hvem*. The native English form O. E. *hwām* would in these texts have given **whām*. — *Quaim* Metr. Hom. p. 61, 165 is ambiguous and may be from O. E. *hwām*.[2])

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healsian, halsian (from sb. *hals*) 'implore, entreat', M. E. *halsen* 'to embrace', see Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., N. E. D. — M. E. *halsen*, of course, under some circumstances, may be or is the Scand. word, but in many cases may depend on the influence of M. E. *hāl* 'sound, healthy'. In some other cases it is the continuation of O. E. *healsian, halsian*. Cf. Mätzner, Wb. II p. 41. — The Cath. Angl. discriminates between *hailsinge* 'salutatio' and *halsinge* 'amplexus'.

[1]) In M. E. *haðenescipe* Laz. 12114 (but *hæthenescipe* ib. 14862), *haðene* Vices and Virtues 54 (but *hæðendome* ib.), *a* seems to be wrongly written for *æ*, the dot over *a* making the only difference between *ā* and *æ*.

[2]) I give here the passage (v. 3265—3284) in Sev. Sages where the word *wheym* occurs:

Þus þe erl left al his care
Of þis mater he þenkes nomare.
Þan said þe knight on þis manere
Vnto þe erl: 'Sir mase gude chere'
Þe erl said: 'Sire, I þe pray
Þe sertan soth þat þou me say:
Wheym es þis faire lady
Þat þou hes set at met me by?'
Þe knight said 'Sir, bi my lewte,
Sho es cumen from myne awyn cuntre!
Sho es my leman þat has me soght
And new tythandes sho haues me broght.

M. E. *quainen* vb. 'to lament', *quaining, quain* sb. 'lamentation' C. M. (frequently), rime-words *again, magdaleyn, slayn* (< *slęgen*): O. W. Scand. *kveina* vb. 'to wail, lament', *kvein* sb. 'lamentation' (Fritzner; cf. Goth. *quainôn*; Old Irish *cāinim, cōinim* 'I wail, lament', Zimmer, Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum XXXII p. 273 foot-note derives from the Scand. word). This *quainen* cannot be from O. E. *cwānian* 'to lament', because in C. M. *ā* (< O. E. *ā*) hardly occurs in rimes with *ai* (O. E. *æg, eg*, O. Scand *æi. ei*), cf. Luick, Untersuchungen p. 195 f.

M. E. *cweise* 'ulcer' A. R. 328: O. W. Scand. *kveisa*, O. Swed. *quēsa* sb. 'abscess' (= M. L. G. *quēse*).

M. E. *leggk* 'sport, play, activity' Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 49), *leik* Hav., Jos. of Ar., *laik* Wicl., Langl. P. Pl. B., M. H. etc.: O. W. Scand. *leikr*, O. Swed. *lēker* O. Dan. *lēg* 'sport, play etc.' The O. E. *lāc* in the sense 'joyous activity, sport, game'[1]) seems to have been extinct in M. E. and replaced by the Scand. form.

This subst. also occurs, just as does the O. W. Scand. *-leikr*, O. Swed. *-lēker*, Dan. *-lēg*, as a suffix in M. E. *-leggk* Orrm. (in very numerous words, see Brate l. c.), *-leik e. g. godleik* Kath. 838 etc. (Stodte, Dissert. Gött. 1896 p. 53), A. R. 136, *hendeleik* 'graciousness' O. E. Hom., Hav. etc., *-laik, e. g. freolaik* H. M. 7, *hendelaik* M. H. 49, Gaw., A. P., etc.[2]) The corresponding English *lāc* also occurs as a suffix in O. E., see Sweet, N. E. Gramm. I p. 462, and still survives in the Mod. E. *wedlock*.

Mi pese es made for euer mare
For þe knight þat I slogh þare
So þat I may wend, hardily,
Hame again mi pese to cri;
And þarfore wil I with hir wende
Forto speke with ilka frende'
'Sir, sekerly, said þe erl þan,
Me think þou has a fayre leman'.

At the first sight *wheym* may seem to mean *who*, as if the original dative were used as a nominative, as in Mod. Swed. and Dan.; but it is improbable that such a use occurred so early, and v. 3271 is, no doubt, to be translated 'To whom does this fair lady belong?'; the answer '*Sho is my leman*' very well agrees with this translation.

[1]) O. E. *lāc* 'gift, offering' still lives in M. E.

[2]) As for the by-form *lēc*, see later on.

M. E. *leȝȝkenn* 'to trifle, jest, play, sport' Orrm. (Brate l. c. p. 49), *leiken* Hav. *laike* Langl. P. Pl. B., A. P., Gaw., M. H. etc.: O. W. Scand. *leika*, O. Swed. *lēka*, Dan. *lege* (= O. E. *lācan* 'to move quickly, play'.

M. E. *laikin* 'plaything' Pr. P. p. 284, N. E. dial. *leikin* 'a sweet-heart', see Way, Pr. P. p. 285 foot-note 1, Wall, Anglia XX p. 110: O. Swed. *lēkan*, Swed. dial. *lēkan* sb. 'plaything'. Material for the history of this and the prec. word in English is given by Hallam, Four dialect words, E. Dial. Soc. 1885, p. 16—37.

M. E. *laire* 'mud, clay' C. M. (rimeword *air* v. 519), Hamp. Ps. (also *lare* ibid.), Alex. (Sk.), der. *lairy* 'miry' Hamp. Ps., N. S. dial. *lair* sb. 'mud, clay', Wall l. c. p. 109: O. W. Scand. *leir*, O. East-Scand. *lēr*. There is no corresponding native word found in English.

M. E. *leȝȝtenn* 'to inquire, seek, look for' Orrm., *laiten* Iw., Trist., Gaw., A. P., D. Erk., Pr. C., etc., N. E. dial. *late* Wall l. c. p. 110: O. W. Scand. *leita*, O. Swed. *lēta*, O. Dan. *letæ*. The corresponding O. E. word is *wlātian* 'to gaze, look' (cf. Goth. *wlaitōn* 'circumspicere').[1])

M. E. *leiþ* 'detestable' Misc. 15 (= Bestiary), Pist. of Sw. Sus. (Anglia I; in the MS. of this poem O. E. *ā* is represented by *ā* or *ǭ*, never by *ei* or *ai*, see Brade, Diss. Breslau 1892—93 p. 53), Audel., *laith* H. S., Am. and Amil., A. P., Ant. Arth., Langl. P. Pl. B., Hamp. Ps., M. H. etc.: O. W. Scand. *leiðr*, O. Swed. *lēþer*, Dan. *led* (= O. E. *lāð*, M. E. *lāð*, *lǫth(e)*, Mod. E. *loath*).

M. E. *naȝȝ* Orrm., *nœi* Laȝ., *nai* A. R., Marh., Kath., O. and N., Laȝ., C. M., Gaw., Will., Shor. etc., *nei* O. E. Hom. I 27. 'no, nay, not': O. W. Scand. *nei* (< *ne* + *ei*, cf. Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 543), O. Swed. *nē* (*nœy, negh*)[2]) (= O. E. *nā* 'no, not'; cf. *aȝȝ* etc. p. 40).[3]) Der. *nayyn* vb. 'to say no, nego,

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[1]) As in the Orrmulum O. E. *w* before *l* has not yet been dropped (cf. *wlite* 'face, features' Orrm.), the absense of *w* in the beginning of *leȝȝten* is an additional, although, as far as this word is concerned, superfluous evidence of Scand. origin. Other cases in which *l* instead of *wl*- proves Scand. origin will be given later on.

[2]) See Tamm, Fonetiska Kännetecken, Upsala 1887 (Upsala Universitets Årsskrift), p. 62.

[3]) Has there been any influence from O. Fr. *naie*, Godefroy, Mackel p. 117?

abnego' Pr. P. p. 351, *nayten* 'to say no' Ch. Boet., Apol., Pr. P.; cf. O. W. Scand. *neita*, O. Swed. *nēta* 'to deny, disown'.

M. E. *nais* adj. 'ashamed, wretched' C. M. 989 (Cott. MS. written *nars*), M. H. 52: O. W. Scand. *(h)neiss* 'ashamed, miserable, wretched', cf. O. Swed. *nēsa* sb. 'shame, disgrace'. O. W. Scand. *neiss* occurs, alliterating with *nøkkuiðr*, in the saying *neiss er nøkkuiðr halr* and in the phrase *nøkkuiðr ok neiss*, see Cleasby-Vígfússon s. v. *neiss*, Fritzner s. v. *hneiss*. It is, therefore, a very interesting fact, that the only passages known in English where the Scand. loan-word occurs, are the above cited: *nais and naked* C. M. 989, *nakid and nais* M. H. 52, which phrases may be entirely due to Scand. influence.

M. E. *reike* sb. 'course, path' Pr. P. p. 427, *raike* D. Arth. v. 1525, *rayke* 'passus' Wr. Voc. 629, 24, *reiken* vb. 'to wander, waver, vacillate' Map., Flor. *raiken* A. R., Pr. C., Gaw., A. P., M. H., M. Arth. (= Le Morte Arthur, ed. Furnivall, London 1864) v. 3373, Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessman, E. St. XXIV p. 195), etc., N. E. dial. *rake* 'to wander, ramble' Wall p. 115, 'to ramble in mere idleness' (Norf.) Way Pr. P. p. 427 foot-note: O. W. Scand. *reik* sb. n. 'strolling, wandering', *reika* vb. 'to wander, take a walk, to waver, vacillate', O. Swed. *rēka*. No corresponding native word is found.

M. E. *raynedere* 'reindeer' D. Arth. v. 922: O. W. Scand. *hreinn*, *hreindýri*, Swed. *ren* 'reindeer', Dan. *rensdyr* (= O. E. *hrān*, M. E. *rǭn*).[1]) It is true that a casual spelling *ai* in such a text as D. Arth. may occur owing to North. E. (Sc.) influence, although in D. Arth. O. E. *ā* is represented by *ǭ*, sometimes by *ā* (cf. *gayspande* later on). Still I do not hesitate to ascribe the *ai* in this word to Scand. influence. *raynedere* here occurs together with *roo* 'roe' > O. E. *rā* (which makes it probable that our word would have been written **roon*, if English), and N. E. *reindeer* points to the same source, although the latter may have been borrowed in later times.

M. E. *raipen* C. M. 24023 in the verse: *Unreufully þai can* (v. l. *gan, gun*) *him raipe, Ful snoberly him for to snaipe* (MS. Cott.). Kaluza, Glossary, translates the word by 'to

[1]) Very possibly, O. E. *hrān*, itself, is an 'Anglicised' loan-word from Scand. (cf. p. 10). Cf. *þā dēor hī hātað hrānas* in Wulfstān's and Ohthere's journey (Ælfr. Oros.).

rap'. Although this may be the sense of the word, it has, of course, nothing to do with this latter word. The rime with *snaipe* (O. W. Scand. *sneypa, sneypa* 'to disgrace, chide', O. Swed. *snøpa*) in all the four MSS. undoubtedly shows that *ai* signifies a diphthong. The word is formed from a M. E. sb. **raip* 'rope' the source of which is O. W. Scand. *reip,* O. Swed. *rēp* etc. 'a rope' (= O. E. *rāp,* M. E. *rōp*). It consequently means 'to rap, beat, thrash with ropes', a translation which very well suits the sense.[1])

M. E. *reȝȝsenn* 'to raise, exalt, direct' Orrm., *reisen* Spec. of Lyr. Poetr., Ch. Cant. T., Rel. Ant., etc., *areisen* C. M., Will., Wicl., R. Br. Handl. Synne, Merl., etc., *raisen* Ps. 112, 7, O. E. Hom. I 283, C. M., A. P. I 305 (rime-word *prayse*), etc., *araysen* Ch., Hamp. Treat., D. Arth. v. 1677 etc.: O. W. Scand. *reisa,* O. Swed. *rēsa,* O. Dan. *resæ* (< **raisian*). The corresponding native word is O. E. *rǣran* 'to raise, build, establish etc.', Mod. E. *to rear.*[2])

[M. E. *snaipen,* see p. 65.]

M. E. *swaif,* see *swaiuen.*

M. E. *swein* 'swain, young man' Laȝ. (rime-word *þein* < *þeȝen* v. 6594), Hav., P. S., Rob. Gl., Pr. P., etc., *swain* Laȝ., Ch., A. P., Arth. and Merl., etc.: O. W. Scand. *sueinn,* O. Swed. *swēn,* see O. E. *bātswegen* p. 39.

M. E. *swaiuen* A. P. 353 (*þenne he* [: *þe whal*] *swenges and swayues*[3]) *to þe se boþem*), MSS. of Langl. P. Pl. Prol. 10 (other MSS. have *sweyed, swyed*) 'to move swiftily'[4]): W. Scand. *sveifa* 'to hover, glide' (Jónsson), O. Swed. *swēva* 'to turn' (the root *sveif-* is more frequent in such derivatives as *sveifla* 'to swing

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[1]) Cf. O. Swed. *bardhe sin bak miz knutogho repe* (Söderwall Ordb.).

[2]) M. E. *reysed* 'gone on a military expedition' Ch. Prol. 54 is not a Scand. loan-word but borrowed from French. Cf. O. Fr. *reise, raise* 'expédition militaire, incursion sur une terre ennemie' (Godefroy), which is, on the other hand, borrowed from German. See Skeat, Glossary to the complete works of Geoffrey Chaucer, Mackel, German. Elemente p. 117. It seems to me more probable that the word was introduced from French than directly from German, as has sometimes been assumed.

[3]) MS. *swaynes* (?)

[4]) Cf. Skeat, Glossary to Langl. P. Pl. s. v.: 'This reading seems to be quite distinct from *sweyed* and to refer to the motion rather than to the sound of the water'.

or spin in a circle', *e. g. sveifla sverði,* cf. Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 169). — We find the same root in the Scand. loan-word *swayf* sb. A. P. II v. 1268, Alex. (Sk.) v. 806 'swinging (of a sword)'[1]), cf. O. W. Scand. *sveifla sverði,* O. W. Scand. *sveif,* Norw. dial. *sveiv* 'whirl, vortex' (Ross).

M. E. *taysed* 'driven, harrassed, teased' Gaw. 1169: Swed. dial. *tēsa* (< **tais-*) 'pull to pieces, tease (wool)', Dan. dial. *tæse, tēse* 'to tease (wool), etc.', Molb. Ordb., Dial. Lex. (= O. E. *tæsan,* M. E. *tęsen,* Mod. E. *tease.*[2])

M. E. *teit* adj. 'joyous, lively' Hav., *tait* A. P., Gaw., *tait* sb. 'joy, exultation' A. P. II 889, Alex. (Sk.), Perc. 253: O. W. Scand. *teitr* adj., *teiti* sb. (cf. O. E. *tāt-* 'cheerful', only in proper names, *tætan* 'to caress', Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.), cf. Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1891—94, p. 371.

M. E. *þæȝe* 'they' Kent. Gosp. (12th cent., cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937),[3]) *þeȝȝ, teȝȝ,* gen. *þeȝȝre, teȝȝre, þeȝȝres* 'their, of them', dat. *þeȝȝm* 'them' Orrm. (see Brate l. c. p. 60), *þei, thei* Hav., Bek., Langl. P. Pl. A. I 8, Lud. Cov., etc. *þai, thai* Laȝ., C. M., Pr. C., A. P., Fer., etc. 'they', also definite article 'the' *e. g. þai doȝti men* Fer. 458 (cf. Dictionaries), gen. *þāyres* Gaw.: O. W. Scand. *þeir,* gen. *þeirra,* dat. *þeim,* O. Dan., O. Swed. *þē, þērœ, þēra, þēm* (= O. E. *þā, þāra, þāre, þām* etc.). In M. E. the native forms often occur in the same texts as the Scandinavian ones.

M. E. *waȝȝ* 'woe' sb. Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 585), *wei* Hav. 962, etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley) is at least partly due to Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *vei* interj. and sb. (in such

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[1]) This translation of mine seems to me, as better agreeing with the etymology, to be preferable to the translation 'a blow' given by Stratm.-Bradley and others, cf. A. P. l. c.: *alle þe maydenes of the munster maȝtyly hokyllen wyth the swayf of þe sworde þat swolȝed hem alle,* Alex. l. c.: *Then Alexander swingis out his swerde, and his swayfe* (MS. Dubl. has *swaffe*) *feches the nolle of Nicollas* . . .

[2]) Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällsk. i Upsala Förhandlingar 1882—85 p. 141, supposes *taysed* to be here put for *tesed.* As *ay* in Gaw. hardly denotes ę̄ in other words of Teutonic origin and is easily accounted for as a Scand. loan-word, I do not hesitate to give the word here. Sweet H. E. S.[2] p. 342 gives a M. E. *taisen.*

[3]) An attempt to explain this form is made by Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 1066, who compares it with Urnord. *þaiaR.*

phrases as *vei er þeim*, cf. Orrm. 11904: *himm wass waȝȝ annd ange* = O. E. *him wæs wā*), O. Swed., O. Dan. *vē*; but it is probable that the word has, in some texts, partly other sources. In all languages interjections often assume forms which cannot be explained in accordance with known phonetical laws.[1]) This word was originally an interjection.[2]) From this point of view, perhaps, is to be judged O. E. *weilawei*, Cott. MS. of Boethius (10th century), cf. Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Hist. of Engl. Sounds p. 125, 316, *weȝla* (cf. Bosw.-Toller, Sweet l. c., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935); some of these references seem too early to be explained as due to Scand. influence, and if we cannot explain this O. E. *wei* as Scand., we have hardly a right, without any restrictions, to do so with regard to *wei* in M. E. *wei lā wei, wai lā wai* etc. (see Dictionaries). The diphthong seems to me to be best explained as due to the interjectional character of the word having caused the preservation of the Teutonic diphthong (cf. Sweet l. c.); cf. the quite analogous M. E. *ei* 'alas' of which Murray, N. E. D., says: 'probably a natural ejaculation'.[3]) — In later times Scandinavian influence may have contributed, to some extent, to the frequency of the form *wei la wei* — but to what extent, it is impossible to decide. It is possible that from the interjection the diphthong has in some cases passed into the subst. and replaced the original O. E. *ā*, M. E. *ǭ*. Nevertheless, as to the Scandinavian origin of such instances as Orrm's *waȝȝ*, little doubt can exist;[4]) the chief difficulty consists

[1]) Cf. Paul, Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte (2nd. Ed., Halle 1886) p. 145 f.

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Weh*, Uhlenbeck s. v. *wai*, and other Dictionaries.

[3]) As for O. E. *wae, wæ*, supposed by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935, 1034 to represent the pronunciation *wei*, but probably due to Latin influence, see p. 39.

[4]) O. W. Scand. *vei* interj., O. Dan., O. Swed. *vē* sb., themselves, are not the forms one would expect from an original **waiwō-* (cf. Finnish *vaiva* 'woe', a loan-word from Scand. or Gothic), the regular form being O. W. Scand. *vǫ́*, *vā*, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 57, 3. The O. W. Scand. *vei* may be due to 'Urschöpfung' or to a non-reduplicated ground-form (cf. Goth. *wai* etc.). O. Swed. *vē* Noreen has, Altschw. Gr. § 80 Anm. 3, explained as borrowed from German, which may hardly be considered as quite necessary: it may be the non-reduplicated interjectional groundform *vei* having replaced the sb. O. Swed. **vā*, quite as in M. English the sb. *wēa* was replaced by degrees by the original interjection *wā*.

in exactly defining the limits of the Scand. influence. — Moreover, there is perhaps in part another possibility. The Germanic *wai* was early introduced into O. French (cf. O. French *wai, wae, quai* 'malheur', Godefroy), and in some cases the M. E. *way* may depend on French influence (cf. the French loan-word in English *alas* meaning quite the same as *way*). This has actually been the case with the derivative O. French *waimenter, quaimenter* 'to lament' introduced into M. E. as *waimenten*. — From M. E. *wei, wai* was probably formed the vb. *weilen, wailen* 'to wail', which cannot be derived directly from O. W. Scand. *vǣla* 'to lament, wail' (< **waiwilōn*).[1])

M. E. *weik* 'debilis, imbecilis, lentus' Pr. P., *waik, wayk* C. M., Langl. P. Pl., Hav., Ch., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.) etc. 'weak', *waiknes* sb. C. M., Pr. C., *waiknen, waiken* vb. Corp. Chr. MS. of Ch. Tro. IV 1144,[2]) *waykned* past partic. A. P. II 1472; in N. E. dial. the word occurs very often with a vowel corresponding to M. E. *ai, e. g.* Ellis, D. 22. IV, Windhill (Wright § 127): O. W. Scand. *veikr*, O. Swed. *vēker*, O. Dan. *vēk, vēg* (= O. E. *wāc*, M. E. *wǭke*).[3])

M. E. *waith* 'game, sport, hunting, prey, catch' Ant. Arth. 34 (rime-words *faythe, laythe, graythe,* ed. Robson, Camd. Soc. 1842 p. 16), Gaw., D. Troy: O. W. Scand. *veiðr* sb. 'hunting', *veiða* vb. 'to hunt', O. Swed. *vēþa* vb. 'to hunt' (= O. E. *wāþ*

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[1]) O. W. Scand. **veila* 'to wail' to be concluded from the sb. *veilan* (Fritzner) may be due to late influence partly from *vei*, partly from the vb. *veina* in the phrase *veinan ok veilan*; *ei* in *veina* (= O. E. *wānian*, O. H. G. *weinon*) may depend partly on the interj. *vei*, partly on the influence of the synonymic *kveina* 'to lament'.

[2]) The MS. Harl. 2280 has *woken*, the printed edition (1532) *weaken*.

[3]) N. E. *weak* which became in the 16th century the paramount form, I have (Zur dial. Prov. p. 17, cf. ib. p. 28) tried to explain through the influence of the verb O. E. *wǣcan*, M. E. *wēchen* (if this be right, *k* would either be from some Northern dialect or depend on the adj. M. E. *wayk, wǭc*); analogous cases would perhaps be N. E. *bleak*, see p. 41 foot-note 2, and N. E. *sweat* sb. (see Kluge-Lutz s. v.). This explanation of *weak* has been approved of by Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 289. Nevertheless, there are other possibilities to explain N. E. *weak*, which I cannot here enter further upon. Whatever the explanation may be, it would seem advisable to explain *bleak* and *weak* in the same way. Could the comp. *weker* C. M. 832 throw any light upon the question *?weck* C. M. 23624 may be an error for *weik* (or for *week*?). Cf. N. E. *steak* p. 59.

'wandering, hunting'). Scotch *waith* Skeat, Spec. of Early English, Jamieson, is ambiguous although it may be the Scand. word.

The Scandinavian origin of the above words is hardly to be doubted. I have, as a rule, intentionally, omitted references occurring in such texts where *ai* may represent an original O. E. *ā*, with the exception of certain cases, as *e. g.* when *ai* is written in words in which, if they were native, we should have to expect, instead of *ā* (*ai*), the *i*-mutation of *ā* (M. E. *ę̄*): M. E. *gaite* pl., *haithen.*

In order to make the collection of material as complete as possible, I give here a list of M. E. words, spelt *ei, ai,* the Scand. origin of which is still more or less problematic. Among these words I insert, within brackets, some very obscure words and some which have formerly been regarded Scandinavian words in *ei* but which I consider decidedly not so. Some words not found till N. E. are also mentioned incidentally.

M. E. *fraisen* D. Arth. 124 (: *fraisez he the pople*) seems to mean 'to tempt' (cf. Stratm.-Bradl. s. v.), and in that case might have been borrowed from O. Scand. **freisa,* which, although not recorded, very probably once existed in Scand. but was replaced by *freista* (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. p. 171 f.) The corresponding English word is O. E. *frāsian* 'to question, tempt'. The possibility of *ai* denoting *ā* in D. Arth. and *fraisen* being from the O. E. word, is not excluded; cf. *raynedere* p. 48.

M. E. *gaspen, gaispen* 'to gasp, exhalo, hisco' Gow., Pr. P., Songs and Carols, London 1855, D. Arth. (see Dictionaries)[1]) has often been derived from O. W. Scand. *geispa,* O. Swed. *geespa,* O. Dan. **gēspe* 'to yawn';[2]) thus *e. g.* Müller, Et. Wb., Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX p. 418, Skeat, Princ. I p. 469, Et. D., Jessen, Dansk Etym. Ordb. s. v. *gispe,* Fick, Engl. Studien VIII p. 502, N. E. D. — Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. assume an O. E. *gāspian* < **gaispōn* as the source of the word and add: 'The word is not borrowed from Scand.' Apart from the exceptional

[1]) Early Mod. Engl. references are to be found *e. g.* in Lives of Women Saints (E. E. T. S. 1886) and in Shakespeare's works.

[2]) Probably from **geipsa,* N. E. D., Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 23.

form *gayspand* in D. Arth., there is no reference known which would, as far as the form of the word is concerned, speak definitely for Scand. origin; the other early and rare uses of the word are spelt *gasp-*, and the rimes *gaspit* : *claspit* Dougl. (Gerken, Die Sprache des Bischofs Douglas p. 4), *gaspe* : *claspe* : *haspe, waspe* in the Manip. Vocabul. (A. D. 1570) show that the *a* was short or equivalent to an originally short *a* at least in the 16th century,[1]) whereas in M. E. *traysten* (< O. W. Scand. *trøysta*), *fraisten*, the diphthong remained some time and at last became *ā* before *st*[2]) which consonant combination perhaps ought to have been analogous to *sp* with regard to its influence on the preceding vowel or diphthong. But this is all very uncertain. On the other hand, *geyspand* occurs too rarely to allow of reliable conclusions. The difference of sense between M. E. *gaspen* 'to gasp' and Scand. *geispa* 'to yawn', would to a certain extent speak for native origin; but Palsgr.

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[1]) Skeat, Princ. I p. 469, Et. D. derives N. E. *gasp* from a base **gapsa*, extension of *gapa* 'to gape', and such a form may, although perhaps only partly, be the source of the word. Still an O. E. **ȝæpsan* or *ȝæspan* from such a base would have given M. E. forms with *ȝ*, *y* (cf. M. E. *ȝespe* 'a handful', early N. E. *yaspen*, *yeaspen*, Way, Pr. P. p. 537 foot-note 3 = L. G. *gaps*, *gepse*, *gespe*, N. Dutch *gasp*, also etymologically connected with N. E. *to gape*, see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. p. 207), and there is no Scand. **gapsa*, **gaspa* known (only Swed. dial. *gapsen* 'astonished or terrified', *gapsig* 'boasting', Rietz — both apparently young formations); but *g* in stead of *ȝ*, *y* could be explained by the influence of the verb *to gape* (cf. Pr. P. p. 188: '*gaspynge*, idem quod *gapynge*'). — An equally ambiguous and somewhat analogous word is M. E. *graspen*, N. E. *to grasp* which may be explained either (1) as an intensive derivation of O. E. *grāpian* 'to touch, handle, feel' (cf. O. E. *grāp* sb. 'grasp', O. W. Scand. *greip* sb. 'grasp', Norw. dial. *greipa* 'to grasp') and then would be etymologically identical with Norw. dial. *greipsa* 'to eat greedily' (Ross), or (2) as an intensive derivation of O. E. (*ȝe*)*græppian* 'to seeze' (connected with Swed. dial. *grabba* 'to seize', N. E. *to grabble*, *grab* etc., see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Garbe* from O. H. G. *garba*, and perhaps remotely akin to O. E. *grāpian*, cf. Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 184 and foot-note), in which latter case it would be etymologically identical with Germ. *grapsen* (cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v.), Norw. dial. *grapsa* 'to grasp' (Ross), or (3) as depending on both (O. E. **grāpsian* and **græpsian*); cf. that Scand. has *greipsa* as well as *grapsa*). Even Scand. influence is not excluded.

[2]) Cf. Luick, Unters. p. 197 f. — Gav. Douglas has *traist* (= *trāst*), Gerken l. c. p. 15. Rimes as *traistis* : *thraistis* (Gerken p. 15), *wraiste* : *traiste*, are either inaccurate or depend on the lengthening of *ă* > *ā* before *st* in *thrästen*, *wrästen*.

(cf. *way* Pr. P. p. 536, foot-note 2) gives *I yane, I gaspe or gape* 'je baille', the true Scand. sense. In my opinion, it cannot be definitively decided whether the word is borrowed or not, although, of course, it may very likely be so.

[M. E. *gleym* 'lime, slime etc.', see p. 57].

[M. E. *gnaisten* C. M. 26760 (Fairf., Gött.), Alex. (Sk.) 5321, Pr. C. 7338, Ps. II 1, Man. (F.) 1821, Hamp. Ps. II 1, Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195), *gnasten* C. M. (Cott.), Wicl., Pr. P., Trev. 'to gnash, fremo, strido' cannot, because of the sense, be from O. W. Scand. *gneista* 'to sparkle'. It is perhaps connected with, if not borrowed from, O. W. Scand. **gnasta* vb. in the sb. *gnastan* 'gnashing' (Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 26). Another formation of the same root is N. E. to *gnash* (cf. Dan. dial. *gnaske* 'to gnash', Feilberg, Ordb.); cf. also early N. E. *gnaspe* etc. 'to snatch at with the teeth', Palsgr. The frequent spellings with *ai* are difficult to account for but may be due to the following *st.*; an investigation into the influence of *st* on preceding vowels and diphthongs would probably settle the question of the ground-form of the word.]

M. E. *greinen, granen, grænen* Laȝ. seems to have the sense 'to prepare, prepare oneself', see Mätzner, Wb. II p. 299, and in that case, perhaps is a loan-word from O. W. Scand. *greina* (cf. Bugge, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. II p. 212). It is true that this O. W. Scand. word, according to the Dictionaries, only means 'to branch, etc.', but the Norw. dial. *greina* = *greida* (Ross) as well as the etymology of the word (cf. Bugge l. c.) proves the original sense to have been the same as that of *greiða*, M. E. *greiðen* cf. p. 43 f. The readings *granen, grænen* may, in the carelessly written MSS. of Laȝamon, be errors for **grainen*, **græinen*. Or could they be explained in the same way as O. E. *scæð, sceð* p. 38 foot-note 2? Cf. *greþede* Laȝ., *greþed, grethet* Hav. (Stratmann, E. St. I p. 424, Hupe, Anglia XIII p. 198, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 17 f.), which, in all probability, are errors for *greiþede* etc. but could be explained in the same way as I have explained O. E. *scæð, sceð.* As for other possible examples of M. E. forms in which O. E. *ȝ, i* have been dropped before a consonant, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 996 foot-note. This O. E. sound-change seems to have been only West-Saxon or Southern, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 214, 3; *e* instead of *ei* in Havel.

therefore, if not an error, must have depended on a southern writer.

M. E. *haiten* vb. Trist. 3050.[1]) The rime-words are: *waite* 'to guard', *layte* 'to seek', *fayt* 'to slander'. O. E. *ā, ă-* never are represented by the spelling *ay* in this text (cf. Kölbing, Sir Tristram p. 177); therefore, we have here neither O. E. *hātan* nor O. E. *hatian*; it is possible that *hayte*, if not to be corrected into *baite* (cf. Kölbing l. c.), is borrowed from O. W. Scand. *heitask* 'to hoot, threaten, abuse'; N. E. dial. *height* 'to threaten' Ray, see Wall p. 106 may be the same word. — *heyt* inf. 'to promise' Townl. M. p. 72 also may be a loan-word, cf. O. W. Scand. *heita* 'to promise'.

M. E. *kay* (*þe kay fote*) 'left' Gaw. v. 422: Early Dan. *kei* 'left' (Kalkar), Dan. dial. *hejhåndet* 'lefthanded' (Feilberg), Swed. dial. *kaja* 'the left hand' (Rietz); as the source and history of the Scand. words is obscure, it is difficult to judge the M. E. word.[2])

M. E. *kaisere, caisere, keisere, kezgsere* etc. 'emperor'. It is very difficult to decide the origin of this word. It occurs, for the first time, in the Mss. Hatton 38 and Royal I A 14 of the Kentish Gospels of the 12th century (cf. Reimann, Spr. d. Mkent. Evang., Berlin 1883 p. 25, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.^{2} p. 933, 943). Other references are: Orrm. (*kezgsere* cf. Brate l. c. p. 47), A. R., St. Kath, St. Jul., Laz., C. M., Hav., Langl. P. Pl. B., Alis.,

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[1]) The passage reads as follows (v. 3048 ff.):

Sir Canados, þe waite.
Euer þou art mi fo
Febli þou canst hayte
þere man schuld menske do.

[2]) There is hardly any relationship between this word and Dutch *kei* 'foolish, stupid, stubborn' (originally 'a stone, flint'), as Stratm.-Bradley suggest. Cf. Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. — There are many unexplained words in Scand. meaning 'the left hand' or 'left, wrong etc.', *e. g.* Dan. *kejte* 'the left hand', early Dan. *kejthændet*, Dan. *kejthaandet* 'lefthanded' Dan. *kav* 'awkward, left' (Molb. Dial. Lex., Feilberg, Kalkar), Swed. dial. *keva*, 'the left hand', also *skjeva* (Rietz), Norw. dial. *keiv* 'wry, wrong', Norw. dial. *keiken* 'obstinate in opinion, perverse' (Ross). — Is there any relationship between Dan. *kei*, M. E. *kai* and N. E. dial. *cake, caikey* 'simpleton, fool' (E. D. D.)? Could *kay* (I have examined the word in the MS.) depend on an error by the second hand, if the original had *car* (for M. E. *car* 'left, sinister', see N. E. D., Murray D. South. Count. Scotl. p. 54) which he may have read as *kai* and written as *kay*?

Man. (F.) etc. (see Dictionaries); the word may either be a loan-word from H. G. (and this is rendered probable by historical reasons; Kluge, Literaturbl. IX p. 57, Zupitza, Academy 1888 No. 827 assume Germ. origin) or may have been imported by the Northmen, who also pronounced the word, which they may early have borrowed from German, with a diphthong.[1]) If the latter be the case, we have here a new example of a German word imported into English through Scandinavian. Still it is not so certain as is the case with M. E. *greȝȝfe, greiue* which, if identical with the German word (cf. p. 43), must have passed through Scandinavian, because the word had no diphthong in German. — A third possibility, of course, would be to assume influence both from Scand. and German; thus the word, when occurring in Southern texts, might be German, in such texts as Orrm. and Hav. Scandinavian. — Noteworthy are perhaps the spellings with *ai, ay* (as a rule, not *ei*) in such texts as the Kent. Gospels, A. R., St. Jul. (also *ei*) etc.

[M. E. *cleymous* 'glutinous' Pr. P. p. 79 probably means *clēmous, ey* being occasionally used in Pr. P. to denote *ē* (cf. p 59.). Likewise M. E. *cleimen* Lidg. (see Stratm.-Bradley) probably means *clēmen* (< O. E. *clāman*); it is not necessary to assume any Scand. influence (O. W. Scand., Norw. dial. *kleima,* Aasen, Swed. dial. *klēma*, Rietz, are possibly, themselves, loan-words from M. L. G. *klēmen*). Also N. E. dial. *clame, claim,* 'to smear, daub' (Wall p. 128, N. E. D., E. D. D.) are possibly from O. E. *clāman.* Very difficult are also M. E. *gleyme* (of knyttinge or byndinge togedyrs) 'limus' Pr. P. p. 198, *gleym* 'birdlime, subtlety, craft' P. Pl. Creed v. 479, *gleymen* vb. 'to smear with birdlime' Pr. P., *glaymande* 'slimy' A. P. III 269, *englaymen, engleymen* 'to make clammy, besmear, to ensnare (catch with birdlime)' (see Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Skeat Gloss. to Alex. and Langl. P. Pl.), *gleymous* 'viscous, clammy' (cf. Cent. Dict. s. v. *glaim, glaimous*). No Scand. **gleim-* is known. Do the words depend on some Scand. formation with a *ga-* prefix to the root *laim-* (N. H. G. *Lehm,* O. H. G. *leimo,* O. E. *lām,* cf. M. L. G. *glemen* 'loam, clay', Lübben)? M. E. *engleimen* seems to point to Fr. influence.]

[1]) Or is the word to be judged according to the possibilities laid down p. 4 foot-note 3? It may be noticed that the Orrm. has both *kāsere* and *kezȝsere.*

[M. E. *leite* Laz. etc. *laite* Ayenb. etc., *late* Alex. (Sk.) etc., sb. 'a lightning' is not, as Skeat, Glossary to Alex. supposes, from O. W. Scand. *leiptr* 'a lightning' but from O. E. *lēget*, cf. Stratm.-Bradley].

M. E. *mayse* (of herynge) 'millenarius' Cath. Angl. p. 225[1]), early N. E. *maise* 'quingenta' Man. Voc., N. E. *mease* 'the quantity of 500': O. W. Scand. *meiss* 'a wooden box, a basket to carry fish', O. Swed., O. Dan. *mēs* 'basket, a measure (esp. of herrings)', Söderwall, Molbech's Glossarium, Kalkar; cf. O. H. G. *meisa* 'back-basket'.[2])

M. E. *quasi, quaisi* (15th century, see Stratm.-Bradley p. 490), N. E. *queasy*, as far as its etymology is concerned, is a very difficult word. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. p. 464, Et. D., derives it from Norw. dial. *kveis* 'sickness after a debauch' (Aasen), Icel. *kveisa, iðrakveisa* 'colic' (cf. M. E. *cweise* 'ulcer' p. 46). Although this may be right, it is curious that the N. E. form is *queasy*, not **quasy*, **quaisy*, and that the word rimes as early as the beginning of the 16th century with *easy*, (*esye*: *quesye* Play of Wit and Conscience).[3]) But this is perhaps to be accounted for by the dialectic development of M. E. *ā*, *ai* to an *ē*-vowel (cf. prec. word).[4])

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[1]) *ay* is in this text no proof of Scand. loan cf. *e. g. waynge tothe* p. 406, (< O. E. *wang tōþ*), *wase* (*wayse* A.) alga (< O. E. *wāse* 'mud, slime', but possibly as well from O. Scand. *veisa* 'pool of stagnant water').

[2]) For the etymology of the word, see Lidén, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIV p. 512 f., who has collected the uses of the word in different Teutonic languages but does not mention or discuss the English word. N. E. *mease* probably depends on some dialectal (Northern) development of M. E. *ā*, *ai* to an *ē*-vowel (cf. *bleak, queasy, weak, steak*).

[3]) Other early N. E. references are: *Queasy* Shakesp., *Quasy as meate or drinke is, dangereux* Palsgr., *queasy* Peacock, *quaisy* Ascham Toxophilus, *queasy* Massinger; see the Century Dictionary.

[4]) Is there any relationship between N. E. *queasy* and O. Fr. *quai(s)ser* (> M. E. *queissen* O. and N. 1388, cf. Behrens, Beitr. z. Gesch. d. frz. Sprache, p. 124, 131, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 974), the pret. partic. of which meant, just as Mod. Fr. *cassé* 'affaibli par l'âge, infirme' (cf. Halliwell: *queasy* 'squeamish, nice, delicate, sickish')? It would then, phonologically, be analogous to other French loan-words in *-ais-* (cf. Behrens, Beitr. p. 128, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 974 f., 976) and be a doublet to N. E. *quash*. Are N. E. *squash* and *squeeze* similar doublets (from O. Fr. *es-quasser, es-quai(s)ser*)? There are numerous words in the Teutonic languages which both as to sense and

[N. E. *raid*, see Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällskapets Förhandl. 1882—85 p. 145, Zupitza, Arch. LXXVI p. 216, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] p. 496; not from Scand. *reiđ* as is assumed by Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 463, Et. D.]

[M. E. *scailen, schailen* 'to disperse' see Stratm.-Bradley. Is it connected with O. Fr. *escheiller* 'escalader'?].

[M. E. *skeggrenn* 'to scatter' Orrm. could only be a loanword containing Scand. *ei*, provided that *r* is < *z*, as in Scand. a Teut. *ai* becomes *ā* before an original (primitive) *r*. The word will be further dealt with in connection with Scand. *sk*.]

M. E. *steyke* 'carbonella, frixa' Pr. P. p. 473 is not quite certain Scand. (O. W. Scand. *steik*, O. Swed. *stēk*) because in Pr. P. *ey* may denote *ē* as in *fleyke* 'plecta' p. 165, *reyke* 'acervus' p. 428, *streyken* 'protendo' p. 479, *weyke* of a lamp 'lichinius, ticendulum' p. 520, etc.[1]); cf. Dial. Prov. p. 16 foot-note 4. In other M. E. and early N. E. texts the word is written *steke* as for which see p. 63.[2])

M. E. *sweyen* vb., N. E. *to sway*, M. E. *sweigh* sb. 'sway, movement': O. W. Scand. *sueigia*, O. Dan. *sveg(j)e*, see p. 62, foot-note.

[M. E. *sweype* 'ictus', *sweype, or swappe, (or strok, swype)* 'alapa', *sweype for a top (or scoorge)* 'flagellum' Pr. P. p. 482, need not be from O. W. Scand. *sveipr* 'a slinging, swinging, a sudden 'swoop', an accident, catastrophe etc.' but is rather to be considered the continuation of O. E. *swipe* 'whip, scourge, chastisement, affliction', *i* having, in an open syllable, become *ē*, cf. *spete* 'verutrum' Pr. P. p. 469 (cf. Luick, Arch. CII p. 73), *streke or longe drawthe* p. 479, *steke* 'to stick, stab', (< O. E. *stician*, but cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 152) p. 111, *sterynge* 'mocio, motus' p. 474, *wevyl* 'gurgulio' p. 523, perhaps also *flekeren* 'volito' p. 165 (< O. E. *flicerian*).[3]) — Possibly we have here two different

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form remind one of the Romance word-group (from Lat. *quassare, quatere*), as yet unexplained (cf. *e. g.* Doornkaat-Koolman s. v. *kwetsen*, Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. *kvas, kvase*).

[1]) Sweet, Stud. A.-S Dict., is hardly right in assuming the O. E. form to have been *wice, weoce*. Cf. Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *wick*, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *Wiek*, Kluge Et. Wb. s. v. *Wieche*, Sarrazin, Archiv CI p. 68 foot-note. The Scand. forms of the word are not clear (cf. Jessen s. v. *Vœge*).

[2]) N. E. dial. *steək* Windh. (Wright, p. 36) seems to depend on M. E. **staik*.

[3]) In words of this type the vowel seems to have been always short (cf. Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 93), and *e* in *flekeren* is therefore

words. *sweype* 'ictus, alapa' may actually be the Scand. word (= O. E. *swāp*, M. E. *swăp*); notice that the word is translated by *swap(pe)* in Pr. P., although also with *swipe* which may be either from O. E. *swipe* or from O. W. Scand. *svipa* 'a whip, blow, stroke (of a whip)'. *sweype* 'flagellum', on the other hand, is most probably from O. E. *swipe*. Dan. *svøbe* 'whip' may be from L. German, although possibly native.

N. E. *thwaite*, Skeat Princ. I E. Et. p. 464, Wall, Anglia XX p. 125, Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 326, etc.: O. W. Scand. *þveit*, Dan. *tved*.

O. E., M. E. *weilawei* etc., see p. 51 f.

M. E. *weiuen* Ch., *waiuen* Gaw., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B., Ayenb., Alex. (Sk.), Will., Hoccl. Reg. of Princ., Kath. etc. 'to waive, set aside, shun, move, send', N. E. *to waive*: O. W. Scand. *veifa* 'to swing, fling, cast', O. Swed. *vēva* 'to turn, twist'. Influence from O. Fr. *wayfer* 's'agiter', later form. *quesver* 'to waive, refuse' (Godefroy, cf. Skeat Et. Dict.), a Germanic loan-word, is to be presumed to a certain extent. Thus the sense 'to waive, refuse; resign' may be entirely from French,[1]) whereas in such phrases as *to waiue up the wiket* Langl. P. Pl. B. V 611, *he waiued his berd* Gaw. 306, Scand. influence is probable. — The true English form is O. E. *(be)wǣfan* 'wrap round, dress', M. E. *wę̄uen* 'to twist, shake, move', (cf. Goth. *biwaibjan* 'to wind round' etc.[2])

Scandinavian Monophthongisation of *ei*.

As has been already mentioned (p. 36 f.), the diphthong (*æi* >) *ei* was contracted in East Scand. into a close *ē* before literary times. In fact, there seem to be some Scand. loan-

probably to be otherwise explained. — In some of these words the *e*-vowel may perhaps also depend on O. E. *u*-mutation. — The analogous sound-change *ŭ-* > *ŏ-* has taken place in *cood* 'cud' Pr. P. p. 74 and probably also in *boole* 'taurus' p. 43 (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 287, Arch. CII p. 76) and *dooke* 'anas' p. 125 (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 290, Arch. l. c. and CIII p. 62).

[1]) M. E. *waif*, N. E. *waif* 'a thing abandoned, a thing found astray' is exclusively a French loan-word.

[2]) For related words in Teutonic languages, see Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 175, Uhlenbeck, Et. Wb. s. v. *biwaibjan*, Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 178. — Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., combines O. E. *(be)-wǣfan* with O. E. *wefan*.

words in English, in which this East Scand. monophthongisation has taken place.[1])

As I have already else-where (Dial. Prov. p. 11 ff.) dealt with this question, I need not here discuss it in detail, but shall only have to repeat the chief results of my treatise, as far as this question is concerned.

The words which are to be taken into consideration, are:

M. E. *bētās* R. Br., 'a sailyard' (O. W. Scand. *beitiáss*, O. Swed. *bētās*).[2])

[M. E. *ēþen* Gaw. 379, 2467, *hēthen* Hav. 551 vb. 'to summon, conjure' is from O. E. **ǣðan* < **aiþjan*, not from Scand. *eiða*, see Zupitza, Anglia I p. 469 f., Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885 p. 83.]

[N. E. dial. *keak* 'to throw back the neck disdainfully'; although it is uncertain whether the vowel is from M. E. *ai* or *ē*, still it is probably from M. E. *ai*.]

M. E. *kēling, lobbe-keling* 'codfish, gadus', N. E. dial. *keelings* 'small codfish': O. W. Scand. *keila* 'gadus longus'.

M. E. *lēȝhe* Orrm. 'hire, daily pay', *lēȝhemenn* Orrm. 'hired servants': O. W. Scand. *leiga*, O. Dan., O. Swed. *lēgha, lēghæ*. As has been already pointed out (Dial. Prov. p. 11), the phonetic loan-word test is generally lost in the words in which the diphthong has been monophthongised, provided that the *ē*-vowel in the English words might be explained by assuming *i*-mutation of *ā*, and when there is no evidence whether the

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[1]) It may perhaps be of some interest in this matter that in O. Irish *hēle* 'spell, magic sentence' (O. W. Scand. *heill*, O. Swed. *hēl*) the East Scand. monophthongisation seems to have taken place, cf. Zimmer, K. Z. XXXIII p. 147 ff., 151 f.

[2]) The passage reads as follows: *some aforced the wyndas, some the lofe, some the betas*; it has not been noticed before, that this is actually a translation from Wace, Brut 11490 f.: *Li un s'enforcent al vindas, Li autre al lof, et al betas.* It is, therefore, very probable that *bētās*, as well as *windās*, has been introduced from Scand. into English through Norman French. — The combination of *bētās* with *windās* shows that the word *bētās* cannot, as is assumed by Godefroy s. v., be from the Spanish *betas* pl. 'pieces of cordage for serving as sorts of tackle', but that *-as* in *bētās* must mean the same as *-ās* in *windās*. — A careful investigation into Norman French would, no doubt, be very useful for the knowledge of Scandinavian and other Teutonic words, introduced into English through this language.

English *e*-vowel was originally close or open (the Scand. *ē*-vowel developed through the contraction was a close, the English *ē*-vowel arisen from *ā* through *i*-mutation was an open sound.). Still *lēȝhe* cannot be a native word. The native form strictly corresponding to the Scand. word (<**laiȝōn*), would in the Orrmulum have been **lāȝhe*, and, if we may assume the existence of an English *-jō*-stem (but there is no reason for doing so), this would in the Orrmulum have given **lāȝhe*.[1])

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[1]) For *lay* 'hire' C. M., see Dial. Prov. p. 12. It may be added, that in such texts where O. E. *ēg*, *æg* has become *ey*, *ay* or where the phonetical value of such spellings as *eg*, *æg*, *eig*, *æig*, *ey* etc. cannot be with certainty ascertained, there is, of course, if *i*-mutation may be assumed, no test of loan, even if the Scand. word had been borrowed with the diphthong uncontracted. Thus *e. g. deye* in the works of Chaucer may, as far as its form is concerned, be derived from O. E. *dæge* as well as from O. W. Scand. *deigja* or O. E. Scand. *dēghia; fay* 'doomed to die', Wars of Alex., may, from the point of view of form, be from O. E. *fæge* as well as from O. W. Scand. *feigr* or O. E. Scand. *fēgher*. It is, therefore, difficult to determine, with certainty, the origin and the ground-form of M. E. *sweyen* vb. 'to go, walk, to incline to one side, etc.', M. E. *forswei* 'to go astray' M. E. *sweigh* sb. 'sway, movement' (most probably Scand.), cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 15. — Pret. sg. to O. E. *stīgan*, M. E. *stī(g)en*, in many texts, is *stegh, steich, steigh* (rime-word *sei* 'saw' pret. C. M.) etc. (see Wackerzapp, Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Nordenglischen, Diss. Münster 1890 p. 25 ff., Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *stīgen*). It is to be noticed, that the verb occasionally passed early into the second class of strong verbs, as did also, to some extent, M. E. *sīgen, mīgen* (cf. inf. *steghe, steȝe* etc., see Wackerzapp l. c. p. 25 ff., Stratm.-Bradley s. v., pret. sg. *þu stuhe* Jul. 62, 63, Kath. see Bülbring Gesch. des Ablauts p. 5, pret. partic. *stoȝen* Fer. 5027) cf. Bülbring, p. 87 f., Hupe, Cursor Studies p. 160, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1069. There is no reason for believing that these forms depend on a Teut. **steugan*. The explanation of the transition of these verbs into the second class of strong verbs may be that given by Bülbring l. c., Kluge l. c. But also Scand. influence may have contributed to this transition. Pret. of Scand. *stīga, sīga, mīga* was **steih, *seih, *meih* > *stē, sē, mē* (> W. Scand. *sté*, East Scand. **stæ* etc.), Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 409 Anm. 1; by way of generalisation *g* was introduced into the pret. from the other forms: O. Swed. pret. *stægh* (Söderwall); M. E. pret. sg. *stēg* if depending on Scand. influence, may in this case have caused the pret. plural to become *stuȝon*, prt. partic. to become *stoȝen* and the inf. *stēȝen* after the analogy of M. E. *bēg* (prt. sg.) : *buȝon* (prt. pl.) : *boȝen* (prt. partic.) : *bēȝen* (inf.) — I cannot here enter on pret. sg.-forms like M. E. *rais, draive, baid, scain* etc. (see Wackerzapp l. c.), which may in certain instances be due to Scand. influence, but which cannot be fairly dealt with without very

M. E. suff. *-lēc*: O. W. Scand. *-leikr*, O. E. Scand. *-lēker*, see Dial. Prov. p. 16.[1])

M. E. *rēne* 'border' Pall.: O. W. Scand. *rein*, O. E. Scand. *rēn*. But *ē* may be due to the O. E. loss of *ʒ* before a cons., cf. p. 38, foot-note 2, p. 55.

M. E. *steke* (cf. *stcyke* above p. 59). As the result of the E. Scand. monophthongisation was a close *ē*-vowel, and as in the 16th and 17th centuries the word seems to have been pronounced with an open *ę̄* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 176 f.), possibly (as perhaps also *e* in M. E. *steke*) due to a dialectic development of M. E. *ai*, it is uncertain, whether M. E. *steke* was the Scand. monophthongised form or whether it was not rather pronounced *stę̄ke*, in which case it cannot have contained the Scand. *ē* developed through the Scand. monophthongisation. As for O. E. *staʒan*, supposed by Kluge to have represented a pronunciation *staikan* from Scand. *steikja*, see p. 39.

N. E. dial. *tye*, *tie* 'a pasture', see Dial. Prov. p. 15.

2. Scand. *øy*, *ey*.

Teutonic *au* has in O. English become *ēa*, the *i*-mutation of which is W. Saxon *īe* (*ī*, *ȳ*), Kentish, Anglian *ē* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 159, 4). In W. Scandinavian *au* is kept as a diphthong (*au*, *ǫu*, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 96); in E. Scandinavian it is monophthongised into an open *ø*-sound (in Danish about 1050, in Swedish later, see Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 594, = § 156, Wimmer, Da. Runem. I p. 13, Altschwed. Gramm. § 123). The *i*-mutation of the Scand. diphthong is in W. Scand. *øy*, *ey* kept as a diphthong (Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 97), in East Scand. it is *øy* which is monophthongised into a close *ø*-sound (in

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specialised researches into the history of English verb inflexions, which do not enter into the scope of this treatise.

[1]) It is possible that the weaker stress of the suffix has contributed to the monophthongisation. Other cases in which Scand. *ei* was weakly stressed, may be:

1. M. E. *brandrethe*, *brandereth* (also *brandrythe*) 'tripos, gridiron', N. E. D., N. E. Dial. *brandreth*, *brandre* etc., E. D. D., Wall p. 92, Pegge, Derbycisms (E. D. S. No. 78) p. 8 (: O. W. Scand. *brandreið*); but the vowel (*e*) may depend on the influence of O. E. *brandrida*, O. E. *i* having become already M. E. *e* owing to weak stress.

2. N. E. dial. *-lids*, see Wall, p. 110.

Danish between 1050—1200, in Swedish about 1200, Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 594 = § 157, Altschwed. Gramm. § 126). The appearance in English of sounds which may be derived from the O. Scand. diphthongs *au*, *ǫu*, *øy*, *ey*, but not from O. E. *ēa* and its *i*-mutation, in words which contain a Teutonic *au*, is therefore a test of Scand. origin. We will first treat of the latter Scand. diphthong viz. that which has arisen through *i*-mutation (*øy*, *ey*), as far as it occurs in Scand. loan-words in English.

The only Scand. word known in O. E. containing the Scand. diphthong being the proper name *Leisingebi*, *Laisingbi* (cf. O. W. Scand. *løysingi* 'freedman', see Steenstrup, Danelag p. 101), we pass on directly to Middle English.[1])

M. E. *ay* 'ever', see p. 40.

M. E. *kairen*, *cairen* vb. 'to go, return; to bring (trans.)' Spec. of Lyr. P. 37 (first known use), Ant. Arth. 53, Langl. P. Pl., Gaw., A. P., Will., Alex. and Dind., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc. (see Dictionaries), N. E. dial. *cair* 'to push forwards and backwards', (Jamieson, E. D. D., N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *køyra* 'to move, urge (tr.); to go on horse-back, ride, run (intr.)', O. Swed. *kōra* 'to move, drive away (tr.); to move, ride (intr.)'. No corresponding native word is known.

M. E. *laisen* vb. 'to deliver, loose from' C. M. (by the side of *lausen*, *lēsen*), see Kaluzas Glossary to C. M.: O. W. Scand. *løysa*, O. E. Scand. *lōsa* 'to loose, release, deliver' (= O. E. *līesan*, M. E. *lēsen* 'release, deliver').

M. E. *maȝȝ* Orrm., *may e. g.* Laȝ. (first text; second text *maide*), Amad. 53, Gaw., Lang. P. Pl. A., Ch., Metr. Hom. etc. (see Mätzner, Wb., Stratm.-Bradley) 'maid, virgin' in some texts may, from its form, be from O. E. *mēȝ* 'woman, kinswoman' (see Bosw.-Toller) as well as from O. Scand. (obl. cas.) *møyj-* (< **maujō-*) 'maid, virgin'[2]) which is quite unrelated

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[1]) As for O. E. *ȳre* (Grey Birch, Cart. Sax. No. 1130) and its relationship to O. Scand. *eyrer*, O. E. *lȳsing* (Steenstrup l. c.), see p. 11. As for the question whether the Scand. diphthong was, before the transition of M. E. *ei* > *ai*, represented in English by *ei* or *ai*, the material is too scarce to allow of any conclusions.

[2]) As for the nom. O. W. Scand. *mǽr* (O. Dan. *mār*), see Noreen, Altisl. Gr. § 68, 2, 69, 253, 1, 318 Anm. 1.

to O. E. *mæg*. But it is quite certain that the Scand. word is the source of the word in the Orrmulum, because O. E. *mæg* in this monument has become *mēghe* 'cousin, relation (female)' (White-Holt's Glossary p. 495, cf. Brate l. c. p. 51, 585).[1]) No native word, etymologically exactly corresponding, is known. The sense 'maid, virgin' makes it probable, if not certain, that the word is from Scand. also in texts where it may, from its form, be from O. E. *mæg*.[2])

M. E. *nait* adj. 'useful, vigorous' D. Troy. 3878, *naitly* adv. 'dexterously, quickly' A. P., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.): O. W. Scand. *nøytr* 'fit, useful'; der. *unnait* 'useless' Ps. II, 1 (earliest occurrence of this word-group), *unneite* A. R., *unnaite* adv. C. M.; *naiten* vb. 'to use' Perc., A. P., D. Erk., Gaw., D. Troy. Alex. (Sk.): O. W. Scand. *nøyta* 'to make use of, profit', O. Swed. *nōta* 'to use, enjoy, tear'; cf. Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. I p. 118.

M. E. *snaipen* 'to nip, check' C. M., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.), N. E. dial. *snape* 'to check, chide, snub' Wall, p. 120, M. E. *snaipeli* adv. 'disgracefully' Ant. Arth. VII: O. W. Scand. *snøypa* 'to dishonour, outrage', O. Swed. *snōpa* 'to castrate', O. W. Scand. *snøypiliga* 'disgracefully'.[3])

M. E. *traisten* 'to trust, confide' C. M., Pr. C., *trasten* Langl. P. Pl. (see Luick, Unters. p. 198) etc., R. Brunne Chr. (rime-word *fraist*, cf. Sweet H. E. S. p. 317), *traistinge* sb. 'confidence' Hamp. Ps., *traistly* adv. 'trustfully' Hamp. Ps., *traistness* sb. 'confidence' Hamp. Ps.: O. W. Scand. *trøysta* 'to trust, confide', O. Swed. O. Dan. *trøsta* O. Swed. *trøstelika* etc.; see Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff.

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[1]) In this point I am obliged to disagree with Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941, in case M. E. *may*, supposed by him to be ambiguous as to its origin, is meant to include also Orrm's *mazz*.

[2]) If *may* did not so often occur in M. E., I should feel inclined to suspect *mazz* in the Orrmulum to be put for *mazzþ* in the sentence (v. 2489 f.): *þatt clēne mazz þatt shollde bēn Allmahhtiz Godess mōderr* (*mazz þatt* < *mazzþ þatt*), cf. v. 2497 f.: *annd bāþe leddenn i mazzþhād all þezzre līf till ēnde*.

[3]) There seem also to have been forms of this word-group in Scand. with the diphthong *ei* (cf. Johannsson, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XIV p. 362 ff., Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 68), but as *øy* is the normal vowel, I give the word here.

Before an original *g j*, the test is, as a rule, lost, as will be shown by the following examples:

[M. E. *beyl* Bokenh. etc. (see Mätzner, Wb., N. E. D.), *bayle* N. E. D. 'hoop or ring, hoop-handle of a kettle', N. E. dial. *bail* 'the curved handle of a bucket', etc. (E. D. D.),[1]) may, as far as the form of the word goes, be from a Scand. **bøygill*, **bøygla* (cf. O. Swed. *bøghil*, early Dan. *bøjel, bøgel, bøile*, see Tamm, Sv. Etymol. Ordb. p. 74, (Lindgren, Svenska Landsmålen XII, I p. 118); this is the explanation given by the N. E. D. But it may quite as well be from a (**baugil-* >) O. E. **bēgel* > *beil* or from a (**bugil-* >) O. E.* *bĕgel* (cf. Luick, Anglia, Beiblatt 1897, Kluge-Lutz, Engl. Et. s. v. *bail.*) Moreover the E. Scand. *bøghil*, *bøile* etc. seem to be borrowed from L. German (cf. Tamm l. c.). English origin of this word is also made likely by the related Engl. dial. *bool* 'the curved handle of a bucket', for which see E. D. D. s. v., Luick, Unters. p. 286].

M. E. *dēgen* 'to die' may, as far as the form is concerned, be English as well as Scand., but is probably Scand., see Dial. Prov. p. 12 ff.

M. E. *fley* 'ship' Oct. 1483, 1671: O. W. Scand. *fley* f. and n. 'navigium, liburna', Mod. Færøish *floy* 'ship, vessel' (Hammershaimb, Fær. Anth. II), O. Swed. *fløghskip*, *fløghisskip* (Söderwall). This word is, as to its form, quite analogous to *dēgen*, the ground-form being **flaujo-* n. or *flaujô* f. (for the etymology of the word, see Karsten, Studier öfver de nordiska språkens primära nominalbildning, Helsingfors 1895, p. 108). As it is only recorded in Scand. and M. English, it may be from Scand.

[M. E. *grei* 'badger, taxus', M. E. *grei-hund* etc., N. E. *greyhound* (see Mätzner, Stratm.-Bradley) are not from O. W. Scand. *grøy* 'a bitch; a vile person', *grøyhundr* 'a bitch' (not 'a greyhound'); the Scand. word, which is only recorded in O. W. Scand. and does not occur in any living dialect, neither meant 'a badger' nor 'a greyhound'. I do not see why this Engl. *grai* may not be the adj. 'gray'. — O. W. Scand. *grøy* 'bitch', too, seems to have originally meant 'a gray animal'

[1]) Another early instance of the word, not given by the N. E. D., I have found in Riley's Liber Albus III p. 294: *bailles* 'hoops nailed at the side of a vessel for the support of an awning or tilt', which, although occurring in an Anglo-French text, is nevertheless the English word.

(cf. Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 59); cf. O. W. Scand. *grøybaka* 'a bitch', literally 'gray-back'].

Analogous to these words is, although in the Scand. word the diphthong is not followed by a *ʒ* or *i̯*, M. E. *leinen, lainen* 'to hide, conceal' (: O. Scand. *løyna* 'to hide, conceal'), which, as far as the form goes, cannot be discriminated from the related native *leinen, lainen* 'to deny' < O. E. (Angl.) *lēgnian* 'to deny';[1]) cf. Luick, Unters. p. 93. But the unmistakable Scand. sense 'to hide' proves, in many cases, Scand. origin; thus *e. g.* is *layne* C. M. 2738 (Gött. MS.), where the other MSS., have *hele* or *hide*, undoubtedly the Scand. word; other examples are C. M. 9299, Ant. Arth. VII. 5.

M. E. *may*, see p. 64 f. — But *maʒʒ* in the Orrmulum is unmistakably Scand.

As for the presumptive monophthongisation of Scand. *øy* in a couple of words, see Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 12 ff.

A few words which do not occur till N. E. times, but which very probably are Scand. loan-words with *øy*, may here be mentioned.

N. E. dial. *air* (Wm., Lanc., cf. E. D. D.) 'a sandbank, or ridge, made by the action of water': O. W. Scand. *øyrr* sandbank' (O. Swed. *ør*, Dan. dial. *ør* 'sand, gravel' may be equivalent to O. W. Scand. *aurr*, cf. Rydquist, Ordb.).

Early Mod. E. *baste* (see N. E. D.), N. S. dial. *baste* 'to thrash, flog, beat soundly': O. W. Scand. *bøysta*, O. Swed. *bøsta*, O. Dan. *bøste* 'to beat, flog'. But other derivations of the English word are possible, see N. E. D., Wall, p. 90. Still the deriv. from Scand. seems to me to be the best one.

N. E. *ran-tree* 'mountain-ash', see Scand. *ǫu, au.*

N. E. dial. *raise* Cum. 'a cairn, mound': O. W. Scand. *hrøysi*, Swed. *röse*, see Wall, p. 114.

N. E. dial. *staip* 'to overturn a cart': O. W. Scand. *støypa*, O. Swed. *stōpa* etc., see Wall, p. 122.

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[1]) As for the relation between O. W. Scand. *løyna*, O. Swed. *løna* vb. 'to conceal', O. W. Scand. *laun* 'secret' etc. (without *g*) and O. E. *lēgnian, lęgnian* 'to deny', Goth. *liugn* etc., see *e. g.* Noreen, Urg. Lautl. p. 47, 178, Kluge, Et. D. s. v. *läugnen.*

3. Scand. *ǫu, au.*

The different developments of Teutonic *au* in English and Scand., when no *i, j* followed, have already been mentioned (p. 63 f.) It is a very good test of loan when a word in English shows, not the vowel corresponding to O. E. *ēa*, M. E. *ę̄*, but instead a vowel which is easily explained as a continuation on English ground of a Scand. *ǫu, au.* This Scand. diphthong appears in O. E. as *ou, au* or *ō*, M. E. *ou, au, ǭ* (cf. Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 21 f.). In some cases which will be discussed later on, it is difficult to decide whether the letter *o* denotes an O. E. *ō*, M. E. *ǭ* (< Scand. *au, ou*), or O. E. *ŏ* (< *u* through *a*-mutation), M. E. *ǭ* (or M. E. *ŭ*), depending on ablaut, in which latter case there is, of course, no phonetic test of Scand. origin. As there are very few rimes to draw conclusions from, we must content ourselves with the spelling.

I begin here with giving the whole material.

Words recorded in O. E.

a) Proper names as *Auðcetel, Oudcytel, Othgrim, Asgout, Oustman* etc., see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 26 Anm., Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 21 f.

b) O. W. Scand. *kaup*, O. Swed. *kōp* 'purchase, bargain' (= O. E. *cēap*, M. E. *chēpe*, perhaps from Lat. *caupo* etc., see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 38, Skeat, Et. D. s. v. *cheap*, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *cheap*; but cf. Franck, Anz. f. d. Altert. XXI p. 299 f.): O. E. *-cōp* in *lahcōp* 'payment made for reentry into legal rights which have been lost', *landcōp* 'a fine or tax paid when land was purchased', see Bosw.-Toller, Steenstrup Danelag, Siev., Ags. Gramm.[3] § 26 Anm., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934. O. E. *caupland*, see Steenstrup, Danelag p. 189.

O. W. Scand. *laup* sb.: O. E. *-lop* (*ō* or *ŏ*?), see p. 71 foot-note.

O. W. Scand. *aurar* pl., O. Swed., O. Dan, *ōre* (a species of money): O. E. *ōra*, see Bosw.-Toller, Skeat, Princ. II p. 45, Sievers l. c., Kluge l. c., Steenstrup, Danelag p. 172; cf. O. E. *ȳre*: O. W. Scand. *eyrir* (from Lat. *aureus*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 328, 334, 349), see p. 11.

O. W. Scand. *rauðr*, O. Swed. *rōdher*: O. E. *rōda* 'the red' in names, as *Atser rōda* (p. 24), cf. Sievers, Paul and Braune's

Beitr. IX p. 197, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 26 Anm., Zupitza, Anglia, Anz. VII p. 155; cf. M. E. *rauþ* p. 72.

For O. E. (or early M. E.) *þoh*, see p. 72. ff.

Words recorded in M. E.

O. W. Scand. *blautr*, O. Swed. *blōter*, O. Dan. *bløt* 'soft, moist' (= O. E. *blēat* 'bringing misery', M. E. *blęt* 'wretched'): *ou*: M. E. *bloute* 'soft' Hav. 1910 (rime-word *rowte* see p. 72). *ō*: M. E. *blōte* 'soft with moisture, mellow' (the sense may be something like this but cannot be exactly determined), Rel. Ant. II 176 (= *of men lif* in Early Engl. Poems and Lives of Saints XIII 154).[1])

O. W. Scand. *daunn*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *døn* sb. 'smell': *ou* (*ow*): M. E. *dowwnenn* (Orrm.) vb. 'to smell', formed from an unrecorded M. E. sb. **dowwn*, cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 39.

O. W. Scand. *glaumr* 'noise, joy': *au*: M. E. *glaumen* vb. 'make a noise, yelp' Gaw. 46, formed to an unrecorded M. E. **glaum* sb. 'noise'.

O. W. Scand. *gaukr*, O. Swed. *gōker*, O. Dan. *gōk* 'cuckoo' (= O. E. *ȝēac*): *ou* (*ow*): *gowke* 'cuckoo' D. Arth. 927, *goukou* Langl. P. Pl. C. XIV 120. *au*: *gaukpyntil* 'arum maculatum' Leech. III p. 319, 327. *ō*: *gōke* 'cuckoo, fool', Rel. Ant. I 291, *gōki* 'fool' Langl. P. Pl. B. XI 299. N. E. (dial.) *gowk*, *gawk* 'cuckoo, fool' cf. Stratmann, E. St. V p. 371, Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 154, Skeat, Princ. I p. 463, Wall, p. 104 (as for N. E. *gawk, gawky,* which may in part be a different word, is to be compared N. E. D. s. v., Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 278).

O. W. Scand. *gaula* 'to howl': *ou*: M. E. *goulen*, *ȝoulen*, Hav., Pr. C., Rel. Ant. I 291, Ch. Kn. T. 470. Wicl. etc., see Dictionaries. *au*: M. E. *gawlen, ȝaulen* Gaw., Ant. Arth., Ms. in Halliw. Dict., D. Troy. N. E. to *yawl, yowl,* N. E. dial. *gowl, goole* Halliw., Wall p. 104.[2])

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[1]) As for N. E. *bloat* (*herring*) which is perhaps from the same Scand. word, see N. E. D. — As for M. E. preter. sg. *crōp*, (*bi*)*lōc* Gen. and Ex. 2687, Laȝ. etc., *sōc, schōf* two of which Stratmann E. St. V p. 371 explains from Scand., see N. E. D. s. v. *to creep*, Bülbring p. 94 f.

[2]) *ȝ* in *ȝoulen, ȝaulen* seems to be due to the influence of such words as M. E. *ȝellen*, cf. *ȝaule and ȝelle* Gaw. 1452, *ȝauland with many*

O. W. Scand. *gaum, gaumr*, O. Swed. *gōm* 'heed, attention' (= O. E. *ȝīeme* f. 'care'): *ō*: M. E. *gōm* sb. 'care, heed, attention' Orrm., R. Gl., (rime-word *cōme* pret.), Fer., etc., see Dictionaries; cf. Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 155. N. E. dial. *gaum, gawm, gome* vb. sb. Wall p. 131, Wright, Windh. dial. p. 53, Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] II p. 867 and foot-note.

O. W. Scand. *gaupn*, O. Swed. *gōpen* 'the hollow of the hand': *ou*: *goupines* 'double handful' Voc. ed. Wright 1857 p. 147. Early N. E. *goping, goppen, gowpen*, see Way Pr. P. p. 537 foot-note 3, N. E. dial. *gowpen* Wall p. 101.

O. W. Scand. *haugr*, O. Swed. *hōgher*, O. Dan. *høi* 'hill': *ō*(?): M. E. *hogh* C. M. 15826 (rime-word *wogh* 'harm, injustice'), *hoo* York Pl. IV 36, *hoes* pl. Ant. Arth. V (rime-words *scoghes* 'groves', *squoes* (pres.) 'flows with noise' (?), *groes* (pres.) 'grows'), *hough* Life of St. Cuthb. Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195. N. E. dial. *how, hoe* 'round hillock' Wall p. 107.

O. W. Scand. *kaupa*, O. Swed. *kōpa* (cf. p. 68) 'to buy' (= O. E. *cēapan* 'to buy'): *ou*: M. E. *coupe* 'to pay for, buy dearly'[1]) Hav. 1800 (rime-word *loupe*); cf. O. E. *-cōp* p. 68. N. E. dial. *cowp, coop, coup*, early N. E., N. E. dial. *cope* 'to exchange, barter', see E. D. D., Wall p. 94.[2])

O. W. Scand. *laun*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *lōn* 'reward' (= O. E. *lēan*, M. E. *lęn*): *ō*: M. E. *lōne* 'reward' M. Arth. 1124 (rime-words *bǭne, sǭne, dǭne*), cf. Seyferth, Diss. Berl. 1894—95 p. 37.

O. W. Scand. *hlaupa* vb. 'to leap', *hlaup* sb., O. Swed. *lōpa*, O. Dan. *løbe* etc. (= O. E. *ȝehlēapan*): *ou*: M. E. *loupen* vb.

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loude ȝelles Ant. Arth. VII; cf. Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885, p. 89. It is curious that in a Swed. dial. the word has initial *j* instead of an expected *g*, see Lindgreen, Sv. Ldsm. XII, 1 p. 117. Relationship to Germ. *jolen, joulen, jaulen, jōlen* (Grimm)? O. W. Scand. *gola* has a short *ŏ*, not *ō*, as Wall l. c. assumes, and is hardly the source of N. E. dial. *goole*.

[1]) Cf. M. E. *abyen* in the same sense Ch., Kn. T. 1445.

[2]) M. E. *cōpe* Lidg. Min. Poems 105 (: *Fleminges began on me for to cry, Master what will you copen or by*) may be the Low Germ. (Flemish) word, cf. N. E. D. s. v.; in some Mod. dial., too, the word, as far as it corresponds to M. E. *cōpen*, may naturally be from L. Germ. *kōpen*, although the distribution in general in the dialects shows the word to be at least mainly Scand.; notice that the word also occurs as a loan-word from L. Germ. in some Fries. dialects, Siebs, Engl.-Fries. Spr. I p. 287.

Hav. 1801 (rime-word *coupe*, see p. 70), *loup* sb. Barb. XIII 652. *ō*: M. E. *to lōpe* 'salire, saltare' Cath. Angl. p. 220.[1]) N. E. dial. *loup*, *lope*, *lawp*, see Stratmann, E. St. V p. 371, Wall p. 111.

O. W. Scand. *lauss*, O. E. Scand. *lās* adj. 'loose' (= O. E. *lēas* 'devoid of'): *ou*: M. E. *lous*, *lows* adj. 'loose' Petw. MS. of Ch. C. T. A. 4064, MS. of A. R., D. Erk. 165, 178, C. M. (always *ou* in Cott., Gött. and Trin. MSS., whereas Fairf. has *lous* and *laus*), M. E. *lousen*, *lowsen* vb. 'set free, loose' Wicl., Perc., Oct., And, Flor., Trev., Pr. C. etc. *au*: M. E. *laus* adj. MSS. of Ch. C. T., D. Troy, C. M. (MS. Fairf.), M. E. *lausen* vb. Gaw., A. P. *ō*: M. E. *lōs* adj. P. S. 339, Ch. Cant. T. (rime-word *goose*), Pr. P. p. 310, Arth. and Merl., etc. M. E. *lōsen* 'set free', *e. g.* Pr. P. p. 313. — See Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 152 ff., Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] p. 545, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 187, 368. N. E. dial. *lowse* 'to release', see Wall p. 111; cf. Murray, Dial. S. Count. of Scotl. p. 148 (in which the word shows the same vowel as native words containing O. E. *og*, *ow*, M. E. *ou*, *ow*).

O. W. Scand. *nauðsyn*, O. Swed. *nøþsyn* 'necessity, want': *ou*: M. E. *nowcin* Marh. I, Kath. 1698, Sawles Warde ed. Morris Misc. p. 255, C. M. 5372. *ō*: M. E. *nocin* C. M. 5802. — Cf. Zupitza, Academy XXVI 1884 p. 11.

O. W. Scand. *naut*, O. E. Scand. *nōt* sb. 'cattle' (= O. E. *nēat*): *ou*: (*ow*): M. E. *nowwt* Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 52), *nout*

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[1]) Forms with *o* (M. E. *lope* sb. Gow. I, 310, M. E. *overlop* 'omission' M. H. 32, M. E. *landloper* 'pilgrim' Langl. P. Pl. B.) do not necessarily depend on Scandinavian forms in *au* but might represent the ablaut *lop* (< *lup*, cf. Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *loopen*, Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *laufen*); still Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 123, Anm. 1 derives O. Swed. *lop(p)* sb. from L. Germ. *lōp* (< **hlaup*). O. E. *brȳdhlop* Rush.[2] (Lindelöf Glossar p. 12), *brȳdlopp* Durh. B., O. E. Chron. 1076 MS. D. (*at þæm brȳdlope æt Norðwī*) may also depend on ablaut. — Still all these words in *o* seem to me to be from Scand. (in *au*), although there is no absolute evidence of their being so, as it cannot be with absolute certainty decided, whether the O. E. word had originally *ō* or *ŏ* and whether the M. E. words had *ǭ* or *ǭ*. As for O. E. *brȳd(h)lop*, it may be remarked that this word seems to have had originally *au* in all Teutonic Languages where it occurs (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *bröllop*; as for O. Swed. *brøllop* by the side of *brølløp*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 81 b), and as the O. E. word cannot be derived from O. E. *brȳdhlēap*, it is most probably of Scand. origin. — N. E. *gantlope* may be a loan-word of later introduction, cf. N. E. D. Is A. Fr. *aloper* (> *elope*, see N. E. D. s. v.) from M. E. to *lōpe*?

Ps. CXLIII 14. *au*: M. E. *naute* Amad. (R.) XV. N. E. dial. *nowt* sb. 'cattle', see Wall p. 113.

O. W. Scand., Runic Swedish *auk* 'also' (= O. E. *ēac*): *ō*: M. E. *ōk* Hav. 1081 etc. (rime-words *bōk*, *tōk*, *cōk*).[1])

O. W. Scand. *raust*, O. E. Scand. *rēst* 'voice': *ou* (*oww*): M. E. *rowwst* Orrm., *rowste* Alex. (Sk.) 488.

O. W. Scand. *rauta*, O. Swed. *rōta* vb. 'to low, roar': *ou*: M. E. *routen* Hav. 1911 (rime-word *bloute*, see p. 69), A. P. III 186, Av. Arth. XII, Hamp. Ps. N. E. dial. *roət* 'to bray' Wright, Windh. Dial. p. 55.

O. W. Scand. *rauðr*, O. E. Scand. *rōdher* adj. 'red' (= O. E. *rēad*): *au*: M. E. *rauþ* Gaw. 2204 (cf. O. E. *rōda* p. 68).

O. Scand. **skauta*, ablaut to O. W. Scand. *skota* in *skotan* sb. 'shoving, pushing': *au*: M. E. **skauten* in *skautand* pres. partic. 'pushing, darting violently' Alex. (Sk.) 4200.

O. W. Scand. *saumr*, O. Swed. *sōmber* 'seam' (= O. E. *sēam*): *ō*: M. E. *sōm* (written *soim*) sb. 'trace of a cart' Barb., see Stratm.-Bradley. N. E. dial. *sowm*, *soam*, *soom* sb. 'rope, cart-trace', Wall p. 121.

O. W. Scand. *saurr*, O. Swed. *sør* sb. 'dirt': *ou*: M. E. *sowre*, sb. Pr. P. p. 466, *sowry* adj. Pr. P. p. 466. *ō*: M. E. *soore* sb. Pr. P. p. 466. N. E. dial. *saur* 'urine from the cow-house', *soor* 'mud, dirt', Halliwell.

O. W. Scand. *souðr* sb. 'sheep, cattle', O. Swed. *sōdher*: *ou* (*oww*): M. E. *sowwþ* 'sheep' Orrm., see Brate l. c. p. 58.

O. W Scand. *vindauga*, Dan. *vindue* (*-auga* = O. E. *ēaȝe*):[2]) *ō* (?), cf. Hupe, Cursor, Studies p. 165: M. E. *windoge* Gen. and Ex. 602, *windohe* MS. of A. R., *window(e)* A. P., Gaw., Langl. P. Pl., C. M., Wr. Voc. 667, 33, 582, 34, Mand. 216, Pr. P., etc., *wyndoe* Wr. Voc. 732, 29, N. E. *window*.

Under this heading a word may be treated which contained originally the diphthong *ou* in Scandinavian, but which

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[1]) M. E. *occ* Orrm. is from Scand. *ŏk* (as for which see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 81, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 122, 2). In other references the quantity of the vowel cannot be determined : *oc* Gen. and Ex., Rel. Ant. I, 210, Best. 70. The words *ōc*, *ŏc* only occur in East or North Midland texts, cf. Morris Preface to Gen. and Ex. p. XVIII.

[2]) The Scand. word is also introduced from Scand. into Irish, see Craigie, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. X p. 157.

was liable to a Scandinavian sound-change before its introduction into English; this word is O. E. (or early M. E.) *þoh* Chro. (see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934), M. E. *þohh* Orrm., *ðog* Gen. and Ex., *þou* Hav., *thogh* Ch. etc., *þouȝe* Langl. P. Pl. B., Engl. Gilds p. 75, *þof* C. M. (see Dictionaries, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 354), N. E. *though*. In Scandinavian, *au* before *h* became very early monophthongized into *ō*, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 58, Altschwed. Gr. § 81. It is not possible to decide whether the short *ŏ* in M. E. *þohh* (Orrm)[1]) depends on a shortening already existing in Scandinavian (O. Scand. *þō* may be from **þŏh* as well as from **þōh*) or whether the shortening did not take place until the word had been introduced into English. This shortening, of course, was due to weak stress in the sentence.[2]) The true English form O. E. *þēah* also underwent a shortening as to its vowel, owing to the same cause. Thus O. E. *þēah* became, when weakly stressed, *þĕah* > *þĕh*, which is the ground-form of such forms as M. E. *þah, þaȝ*, M. E. *þauh* A. R., Laȝ., etc. (cf. Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 72); cf. M. E. *sauh* < *sah* < *sæh*, pret. 'saw'. It is therefore possible that *ō* was not shortened until after the word had been introduced into English. There is naturally no reason to assume L. Germ. origin, as has often been done (thus *e. g.* ten Brink, Zeitschr. f. Deutsch. Altert. XIX p. 221 note, Hupe, Cursor Studies p. 169), nor can the word possibly be from O. E. *þēah* as has also been supposed (thus *e. g.* Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 153 foot-note, Skeat, Et. D.). — There is also no reason to doubt that the original vowel of the word was *au*. Feist, Grundr. der Got. Etymologie p. 120, thinks that the Goth. word was pronounced *þaúh* from **þuh*. Holthausen, Literaturbl. für Germ. und Rom. Phil. XII p. 341 adopts Feist's opinion and says: 'Ne. *though* braucht nicht mit Brate auf urn. *þōh* zurückgeführt zu werden'. If I am not mistaken, Holthausen by this means to say that O. E. *þoh* etc. is to be derived from a base **þŏh* (**þuh*?). Also Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. thinks that the ground-form of O. Scand. *þō* was **þoh*.

[1]) Although in some cases the quantity of *o* cannot be decided, the vowel seems to have been once short in this word everywhere in English, as there is no evidence of any O. E. *þōh*.

[2]) Cf. O. H. G. *dŏh* with *ŏ* shortened from *ō*, Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XVI p. 247.

But as there is no evidence of any other Teutonic ground-form than **þauh*, and as the word is in all Teut. Languages easily derived from this form, there is no reason to doubt that the ground-form of O. E. *þoh* is also from the same base *þauh*; and if this be right, the English word can only be explained as a Scand. loan-word.[1]) That Scand. *þō* was from *þōh* < **þauh* is also made probable by the related O. W. Scand. *þeygi*. — The only argument that could be raised against the derivation of the word from Scandinavian is that in other Scand. loan-words *h* is lost in this position (thus M. E. *wrā, spā* etc., see later on) but not in *þoh*. But as the word cannot possibly be of native origin, the only way of solving this difficulty seems to be to assume that the word was introduced into English at an earlier time than *wrā, spā* etc.[2])

To this list I add a few English words, some of which may be from Scandinavian words containing *ǫu, au*, although I am not sure that they really are so. Those within brackets are, in my opinion, not Scandinavian.

O. W. Scand. *aur-* (< **aƀur-*, Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. VI p. 312, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 130, Detter, Zeitschr. f. Deutsch. Altert. XLII p. 53 ff.): M. E. *awwerrmōd* (Orrm) according to Kluge, Herrig's Arch. CII p. 153. — Ibid. CI p. 370 I had ventured another explanation (from O. E. *āwerdmōd*), against which Kluge l. c. has argued that the stress then would be expected to be on the second syllable (**āwĕrd*), not on the first. This objection, of course, makes my explanation very problematic and it is possible that Kluge's explanation is the right one. Still it might perhaps be said in defence of my explanation that most compounds in Old and Middle English, the first part of which was a word of two syllables, had the stress on the first syll-

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[1]) Scand. origin is assumed by Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] II p. 547, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 72, Anglia Beiblatt VII p. 335, Kluge, Paul's Grundriss p. 936, 1004. — Even if the Scand. groundform were **þoh* (= Goth. **þauh*, Teut. **þuh*), it would be necessary to assume Scand. origin because the corresponding native form then would have been O. E. **þuh*.

[2]) Or is the loss of *h* in *wrā, spā* etc. due to inflected forms in which *h* was in the position between two vowels? In this case *h* naturally remained in *þoh* where it was always final; see consonants.

able, *e. g.* O. E. *æfen-tīd, hāliz-dæz, hæþen-dōm,* and that when the etymology of the first part of **āwér(d)mōd* grew obscure, the stress might easily have been shifted to the first syllable owing to the influence of such compounds as *æfen-tīd* etc. To Kluge's etymology might perhaps be objected that there is no other case in the Orrmulum or elsewhere in English where O. Scand. *au* has become *awwe-* (two syllables!); what we should have expected, would have been M. E. **awwr-* (or **owwr-, *ōr-*) or (if O. Scand. **aƀur* had not at the time when the word would be supposed to have been borrowed become *aur-*) M. E. **aferr-*.[1])

O. W. Scand. *auðr* 'void, desolate': M. E. *authly* 'sadly' (?) Alex. (Sk.) 3234 (Ashm. MS.). The meaning is not quite clear (the Dubl. MS. has *trewly*) and therefore the connection with the Scand. word somewhat doubtful.

O. W. Scand. *baula,* O. Swed. *bøla* 'to low as a cow': M. E. *bawlen* 'to bark as a dog' Pr. P. p. 20, N. E. dial. *bawl* 'to cry out, scream, weep, to low as a cow'; but compare Med. Lat. *baulare* 'latrare et est proprie canum' (Du Cange) which occurs as early as in an 11th or 12th century list of cries of animals (cf. N. E. D.).

[Norw. *bausta* 'to pop out (a word)' (cf. Norw. *baus* 'haughty, proud', Germ. dial. *bausten* 'turgere', etc., see Wadstein, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XXIII p. 239): M. E. *bǭst* sb. 'loud noise; of the voice, outcry, clamour; threatening menace; vaunt, brag; ostentation, pomp, vain glory', *bǭsten* vb. 'to threaten, speak ostentatiously' R. Gl. (first known use), K. Alis. (rime-word *oost* 'host'), Arth. and Merl. (rime-word *ost* 'host'), C. M., A. P. etc., see N. E. D. This word cannot represent an O. E. **bāst-,* nor O. E. **bōst-,* nor O. E. **bŏst-,* see N. E. D. Therefore Murray thinks it to be from some word of later (foreign) introduction. Naturally then one might easily suppose it to be a loan from the Scand. word. But as the M. E. word had *ǭ,* and M. E. *ō* from O. Scand. *ǫu, au* seems always to have been close, it is not very probable that the word is from the Scand. one. The suggestion of Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *böse,* Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 927 f. (cf. Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v. *boast*), who, although with hesitation, derives

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[1]) Or is *e* in *awwerrmōd* a sort of svarabhakti vowel?

the word from an O. E. **bosettan,* therefore, seems to be the only acceptable one.]

O. W. Scand. *frauki* 'frog': M. E. *froke* 'frog' Pr. P. p. 180. As there are in English as well as in other Teutonic languages many formations of words from this and similar roots (see Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. VII p. 143, N. E. D. s. v. *frog*) and as the etymological relation between the various words involves some unsolved difficulties, it is not easy to know whether *o* in M. E. *froke* is $\bar{o}$ (< *ŏ-*, cf. O. Scand. *frŏskr,* German *Frosch* etc.) or whether it is $\bar{o}$ (< O. Scand. *au, ǫu*).[1]) Likewise M. E. *frode* 'frog' may be from an O. E. **frŏda* related by ablaut to O. W. Scand. *frauðr* 'frog' and need not be borrowed from the latter. A third ablaut is found in M. E. *frūde* (rime-word: *prūde,* see N. E. D. s. v. *froud*).

Scand. **glaut-* 'to look, pry' (cf. Noreen, Sv. Etymologier p. 30): M. E. *glouten* 'to look sullen, stare' Rich. 4771, B. B. p. 174, N. E. *to gloat,* 'to stare, gaze' (early N. E. *glote, glout,* cf. Cent. D.). But this etymology is somewhat uncertain and there are other possibilities, cf. Kluge-Lutz s. v. *gloat*; N. E. dial. *glout*, as Professor Wright kindly informs me, points to a M. E. *ū*. N. E. *to gloat* is certainly not from O. W. Scand. *glotta* to grin, smile scornfully'.

[M. E. *hauk,* N. E. *hawk* is to be derived from O. E. *havoc* rather than from O. Scand. *haukr* < **haƀuk* (cf. Kluge, Engl. Stud. XVI p. 394, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 187, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1031 f., 1050, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *hawk*). For the phonological question, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] l. c. Analogous cases are: M. E. *nauger,* N. E. *auger* (< O. E. *nafogār*); M. E. *auk, awkeward,* N. E. *awkward* (see p. 20 foot-note); M. E. *chaul* 'a jaw' (< *chavel,* O. E. *cēafl*), *chaulen* 'to chatter' (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] l. c.)[2]); Sc. dial. *kewl* (< M. E. *kevle, kevyl* Pr. P. p. 274), see Pr. P. l. c. foot-note 1; M. E. *craulen,* N. E. *to crawl* (O. W. Scand. *krafla,* Swed. *krafla*); M. E. *crawyn* 'proco, rogito' Pr. P. p. 101 (< O. E. *crafian*); M. E. *drauk* 'weed' (see

[1]) N. E. D. derives M. E. *froke* from Scand. *frauki.*

[2]) M. E. *coul,* N. E. *cowl* 'a vessel carried on a pole' (< O. E. *cufl,* cf. Kluge l. c., Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891—94 p. 133) is not quite analogous.

Kluge l. c.); M. E. *eute, ewte,* N. E. *newt* (< O. E. *efete*); M. E. *gowle* 'usura' Pr. P. p. 206 (< O. E. *gafol*); M. E. *naule* (rime-word *sawle* A. P. I, 459)[1]; it is noteworthy that in Havel. words in *-aue* rime occasionally with words in *awe,* see Skeat, Introd. to Havel. p. XXXVIII.]

O. W. Scand. *hauldr* (?): O. E. *hold* (?), see Dial. Prov. p. 7 and foot-note 3.[2])

O. W. Scand. *maurr* 'ant': *ou*: M. E. *moure* 'ant, pismire' is given by the Century Dict. s. v. *mire, pismire.* I have not found any instance of the word in the literature, but if the form exists, it is undoubtedly from Scand.

[M. E. *roke* 'fog, vapour, cloud, nebula' Gen. and Ex. 1163 (rime-word *smoke*), Bev., Pr. P. represents the ablaut *u* (> *o* through *a*-mutation), cf. Dan. dial. *raag* 'mist' (Molb. Dial. Lex.), Norw. dial. *rok* 'mist, smoke' (Aasen.) The N. E. dials. have *roke* 'fog', *roky* 'smoky' (Norf.) *rauky* 'smoky' (Lincsh.), see Skeat, Stud. Pastime p. 152, Forby, East Anglia II p. 280. Is the latter from an O. Scand. **rauk-,* cf. Swed. dial. *rauk,* 'smoke' (Rietz p. 546)?]

O. Scand. **skaun(i)-* 'beautiful' (= O. E. *scīene,* M. E. *schēne*), not recorded in Scandinavian (Swed. *skön,* Dan. *skjøn* are borrowed from German)[3]: *ō*: M. E. *scōne* Orrm., Laz., see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939. Although the word is not recorded in Scand., it may have existed there at the time when the Northmen went over to England. It is difficult to explain the English word otherwise than as a Scand. loan-word. Influence from O. Sax., O. H. G. *scōni* is, although not impossible (cf. M. E. *caiser* p. 56 f., O. E. *ostsē* Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 942), still not very probable at so early a date. Brate l. c. considers Scand. origin hardly possible, because the E. word shows no *i*-mutation.

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[1]) Concerning the *o* in M. E. *gowl, govel* (Gen. and Ex.), M. E. *novil, noule* (Pr. P., Arth. and Merl., see Dictionaries), see Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 119.

[2]) As for O. E. *hofding,* see Dial. Prov. l. c. Is O. Swed. *høfdhinge,* Dan. *høvding* from **haufðing-* (cf. O. W. Scand. *haufoð,* Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 149, O. Swed. *høvudh*)? Another explanation is given by Noreen, Altschw. Gramm. § 59, 7, Torp.-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 113.

[3]) Finnish *kaunis* (Thomsen, Ueber den Einfluss der germ. Spr. auf die finnisch-lappischen p. 96, Brate l. c. p. 25 f.) may be borrowed from Gothic quite as well as from Scandinavian.

But it may be possible that forms without the *i*-mutation existed in Scand. by the side of such as had undergone the same.

O. W. Scand. *staup* 'cavity, pit, cup, goblet', O. Swed. *støp* 'cavity, pit', Norw. dial. *staup* 'cup, goblet': *ō*: M. E. *stope* 'cupa' Wr. Voc. 728, 28, N. E. *stoup, stoop* 'flagon etc.'; but as O. Scand. *stōp*, Dan. *stōb*, etc. is borrowed early from L. G. (the regular native Scand. forms are O. W. Scand. *staup*, O. Swed. *støp*, Dan. *støb*),[1]) the late M. E. word may be from the same source.[2]) The origin of N. E. *stoup, stoop* cannot be settled without deep researches into English dialects and their history. Zupitza, Anglia Anz. VII p. 153, Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1885—87 p. 85, 88, Princ. I p. 463, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v. *stoup* assume Scand. origin of M. E. *stope* as well as of the N. E. words, which may, of course, be right.[3])

O. W. Scand. *traust*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *trøst*: M. E. *trust* sb., *trusten* vb. etc., see Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff. I have not given this word in the preceding list, because *u* is not easily accounted for, as there are no other instances known, in which O. Scand. *ǫu, au* has with certainty become *u* (N. E. *fluster* which I formerly considered as analogous may be from M. E. **flǭster* < O. W. Scand. *flaustr*, cf. Scotch *fluister* Murray, Dial. Southern Count. Scotl. p. 149).[4])

As has been already pointed out (p. 68), the O. Scand. diphthong *ǫu, au* appears in the Scand. loan-words in English

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[1]) Cf. Schlyter Ordbok, Söderwall Ordbok, Tamm Fonetiska Kännetecken p. 59, Jessen Et. Ordb., Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie, p. 141.

[2]) The L. Germ. loan-word M. E. *grote*, N. E. *groat* had M. E. *ǭ* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 49, 313), which does not seem to harmonize with N. E. *stoop*, if the words are from the same language.

[3]) Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary gives the word as of Dutch origin.

[4]) To this fact Prof. Luick has kindly called my attention. — Is O. E. *clustor* which Pogatscher, Lautl. d. Lat., Rom. u. Gr. Lehnw. p. 114, 125 derives from O. It. *clūstrum* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 336), analogous to *trusten* and to be derived directly from Lat. *claustrum*? — When spellings with *o* occur, it cannot be settled whether this *o* means *ŭ* or *ǭ*: *trost* sb. Wicl. Is XXXI, 6, Pr. P. p. 503, *mistrost* sb. Lud. Cov. 126, *trost* adj. Man. (H.) 60, Engl. Gilds 46, *trostlike, -li* adv. Pr. P. p. 503, Wicl. Prov. X, 9, *trosten* vb. Wicl., Pl. Cr., Ayenb., Engl. Gilds 53, Arth. & Merl., *trosti* adj. Pr. P. p. 503.

as *au, ou,* $\bar{o}$ (in *trust* perhaps as $\breve{u}$; in some cases the spelling *ou, ow* might perhaps denote [$\bar{u}$] instead of [*ou*], but there are no means of settling this question). Now the question remains: under what circumstances did the Scand. diphthong become *au,* and under what *ou* or $\bar{o}$? This problem cannot be solved completely by means of the M. E. material. In the Scand. languages, themselves, at the times when the loan-words were introduced into English, different pronunciations may have existed in different dialects and it is also probable that the pronunciation was, in the same dialect, different at different times, and as the stock of Scand. loan-words was introduced during a very protracted space of time it is possible that one of the products of the Scand. diphthongs represents an earlier stage in the history of the Scand. languages on English ground than does the other Thus perhaps the fact is to be explained that in one and the same M. E. dialect there are often forms to be found in which the Scand. diphthong appears in more than one shape. Then the loan-words in $\bar{o}$ in the Orrmulum (*gōm, scōne*) may depend on later introduction than those in *oww* (*dowwnenn, nowwt, rowwst, sowwþ*), although the differences may, to some extent, be due to the influence of different Scand. dialects, the forms in $\bar{o}$ being, most probably, of East Scand. origin (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 21 f.), whereas those in *oww* may also be East Scand. (although then of older introduction than those in $\bar{o}$) quite as well as West Scand. Likewise it cannot with certainty be settled why in the documents treated by Knigge, Diss. Marb. 1885, *au* is written in *gaulen, glaumen, lausen, rauþ* and *ou* in *louse* adj., *routen* vb., whereas $\bar{o}$ in *windowe* in the same texts may depend on the following *w* (< ȝ) or on weak stress.[1]) — Nevertheless, in some M. E. dialects one or other of the three (*au, ou,* $\bar{o}$) seems to have preponderated; thus *e. g. ou* (*oww*)

[1]) What was the normal development of O. Scand. *au* + ȝ in the loan-words cannot be satisfactorily settled by means of the two words in which this combination occurs (M. E. *hogh* etc. < O. Scand. *haugr,* see p. 70, and *windowe,* see p. 72). The rime *hogh* : *wogh* in C. M. *hoes* : *scoghes* in Ant. Arth. speak for $\bar{o}$ + ȝ. If this be the only development of Scand. *au* + ȝ, it would form a sort of analogy to the presumable development of Scand. *ei, ey* + $\dot{i}$ > $\bar{e}$ȝ, see Dial. Prov. p. 14 f.

in the Orrm. and in Havel. (*blout, goulen, coupen, loupen, routen,* but *ōk*) which both belong to the North Midland dialect. But the M. E. material is too scanty to allow of reliable conclusions as to the local distribution of the different pronunciations of the Scand. diphthong in the dialects spoken by the Scandinavian settlers. Perhaps a careful examination of the modern dialects would bring this question nearer to a solution. Thus in the dialect of Windhill (Wright p. 55) Scand. *ǫu, au* has become *ou* in *loup* and *lous* (< M. E. *loupen, lous*; *ou* in this dialect, among other M. E. sources, also corresponds to M. E. *ow* < O. E. *oɣ,* Wright p. 21), but appears as *oə* in *goəm* 'heed, care, attention', *goəmləs* 'silly, stupid', *roət* 'to bray' < M. E. **gaum, *gaumles, *rauten* (the M. E. source of *oə* in this dialect is, among others, *aw,* Wright p. 23). In order to facilitate to some extent, as I hope, the investigation of Scand. *ǫu, au* in the loan-words in Mod. English dialects, I give here a short list of words found in Mod. English and its dialects which probably contain the Scand. diphthong. Of course, for every dialect, one must see, if possible, what was the M. E. base of the vowel or diphthong found in the Mod. dial. word, presumed to be from a Scand. word in *ǫu, au*; but in doing so, words which may be due to the influence of English received speech are to be eliminated. As such an investigation does not enter into the scope of this treatise, I have to content myself with simply giving the list in question; N. E. words mentioned in connection with the preceding lists are here omitted.

O. W. Scand. *aumligr,* O. Swed., O. Dan. *ōm*: N. E. dial. *oamly, owmly* adj. 'unpleasant, hurtful to the feelings' see Wall p. 113.

O. W. Scand. *auðna* 'to be ordained by fate': N. E. dial. *awned, aund* 'ordained' (*awned to ill luck, I am aund to this luck*), see Skeat, Student's Pastime p. 92, N. E. D. s. v. *aund.*

O. W. Scand. *ausa,* O. E. Scand. *ōsa* 'to pour out, bale out (water)': N. E. dial. *howze, owze* 'to lade water, to bale out', see Wall p. 107, 114.

N. E. *fluster,* see N. E. D., N. E. dial. *flooster, flouster, floister* etc., see E. D. D.; cf. p. 78 and foot-note 4.

O. W. Scand. *gaurr* 'a rough fellow': N. E. dial. *goury* adj. 'dull, stupid-looking', see Wall p. 104.

Norw. dial. *raun* (< **rauðn*, see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 232) 'mountain-ash' (Aasen): N. E. dial. *roan-tree, rown-tree, rowan-tree* etc., see Skeat, Et. D., Jamieson, Wall p. 115.[1])

O. W. Scand. *hraun* 'stony, barren ground': N. E. dial. *roan* 'a clump of whins', Sc. *rone* 'a shrub, brushwood', Nhb. *a roen of thistles, whins* etc. 'a rank or thick growth'; Wall p. 116 derives the word from O. W. Scand. *runnr* 'a bush, grove', which cannot be right. I fancy that such a phrase as *a rone of thistles* meant originally 'a stony ground overgrown with thistles, or where only thistles, whins etc. can grow'.

O. W. Scand. *skauð* 'vagina', pl. *skauðir* 'the sheath of a horse's penis' (= M. H. G. *schode*): N. E. dial. *scow* sb. 'the sheath of a horse's penis', see Wall p. 117.

O. W. Scand. *staurr*, O. E. Scand. *stōr* 'bar, stake': N. E. dial. *stower* sb. 'a hedge-stake', see Wall p. 122.[2])

4. Scandinavian *ā*.

A. From Teutonic *ǣ*.

Teutonic *ǣ* (Goth. *ē*), as a rule, in West-Saxon is represented by *ǣ*, in Kentish and Anglian, as a rule, by *ē* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57, 2, 150, 1). In literary Old Scand. it has become *ā*, provided it has not suffered *i*-mutation, in which case it has changed into *ǣ*. Consequently, if there were no exceptions to the rule of Teutonic *ǣ* becoming O. E. *ǣ*, *ē* (instead of *ā*), an *ā* in words in English which contained a Teutonic *ǣ*, would be a very good test of loan from Scand. But as there are actually a number of genuine English words in which Teutonic

[1]) The etymologies of *raun, reynir* etc. given by Kuhn, Herabkunft des Feuers und Göttertranks p. 202, K. Z. XIII p. 62, Jessen, Et. Ordb. are erroneous. Norw. *rogn* 'a mountain-ash' is from O. Norw. *raun*, see Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 142. N. E. dial. *ran-tre* may be from the form (O. W. Scand. *reynir* = O. Swed. *rene*) which has suffered *i*-mutation.

[2]) Since writing the above, Prof. Wright has kindly given me the opportunity of seeing some of the material collected for the E. D. D. This material clearly shows the forms in *ou* to be North Midland and Northern and those in *ō* to be Midland (with the exception of some North Midland Districts) and Southern.

ǣ is represented by O. E. *ā*, an *ā*, instead of an expected *ǣ*, *ē*, is not always a loan-word test of absolute reliability. Thus in the position before *w*, Germanic *ǣ* is, as a rule, represented by O. E. *ā* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57, 2, a): before *w* there is consequently no test of loan.[1]) But also in other cases *ā* appears in O. E. corresponding to Germanic *ǣ*. I refer to Kluge, Anglia Anz. V p. 82, Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57 Anm. 3. As these O. E. words cannot possibly depend on Scand. influence, it seems possible that some of the M. E. words in *ā*, *ǭ* corresponding to Germanic *ǣ* might be from O. E. instead of from Scand. In some M. E. words (viz. before a nasal consonant), however, *ā*, *ǭ* cannot possibly be explained otherwise than through Scand. influence. In the other cases M. E. *ā*, *ǭ* offers no absolute evidence of loan; but as the O. E. cases of *ā* corresponding to Teutonic *ǣ* are rather scarce and as almost all M. E. words in *ā*, *ǭ* may be explained by assuming Scand. influence, it is very probable that they actually are Scand. loan-words. These words, as it were, occupy an intermediate position between this chapter and the following one: although the outward form of the words is no absolute test of loan, it still makes loan very probable. In order to form a definite opinion on the words, such points of view as will be treated of in the next chapter, must be taken into consideration. Still I treat of the words here, partly in order to avoid devoting a special chapter to them, partly because I myself have not the least doubt as to their Scandinavian origin provided that all other points of view considered give evidence in the same direction.

a) Words in Teutonic *ǣ* before nasal consonants.

Teutonic *ǣ* (West-Teutonic *ā*) becomes O. E. *ō* before nasal consonants (see Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 68). Scandinavian *ā*

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[1]) Loan-words containing Teutonic *ǣ* + *w* are 1. M. E. *blā*, *blǭ* 'blue, black, livid' (O. E. *blāw* occurs only in Erf. Gloss.), see N. E. Dict., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *blue*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941, 1034; 2) perhaps M. E. *brā*, *brǭ*, 'brae, hill-side, river-bank' (see N. E. D. s. v., Kluge l. c. p. 1034), to judge from the remarkable and difficult O. E. forms, Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 112, Anm. 1 and 2, but as here different developments may have taken place in different dialects, this test is not reliable (as for the original sense of Scand. *brā*, see Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 7); 3. M. E. *grā*, see later on.

(< Teutonic *æ*), as a rule, remains *ā*. Engl. *ā* + nasal (< Teutonic *æ* + nasal) therefore must be due to Scand. influence. The words to be considered in this connection are:

[O. E. n. pr. *Frana, Frane* (also *Frena, Fræna, Friena*, see p. 26, Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Ser. VII p. 75): O. W. Scand. *Fráni* from the adj. *fránn*, as for which see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordbok s. v. *från*. It is not quite settled whether the word contains Teutonic *æ*.]

O. E. *hānum* 'him', see Stephens, O. N. R. M. I, XXIII, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937: O. Scand. *hānum*.

O. E. *nām* 'seizure of property belonging to one which is in the hands of another': O. W. Scand. *nám*, O. Swed. *nām* 'seizure'. See Steenstrup, Danelag p. 185, Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict. Der. *nāmrǣden* 'erudition' Wr. Voc. 431, 8 (11th century), cf. O. W. Scand. *nám* 'instruction, learning'. — O. E. prt. pl. *nāmon*, on the other hand, is due to analogy, see Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 390 Anm. 2, Bülbring, Gesch. d. Ablaute (Qu. u. Forsch. 63).

M. E. *span-newe* Hav. 968, Ch. Tro. III 1665, N. E. *span-new* (see Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v., Skeat, Princ. I p. 429: O. W. Scand. *spánn* 'chip, shaving' (= O. E. *spōn*), *spánnýr, spányr* 'quite new'.

M. E. *wān, wǭn, iwān, iwǭn* (< *ȝewān*) 'hope, store, quantity, opinion', as early as A. R., Laȝ.; for other quotations, see Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *wān, ȝewān*: O. W. Scand. *ván*, O. E. Scand. *vān* (cf. O. E. *wēn* 'hope etc.', M. E. *wēne* 'thought, doubt', which, shows *i*-mutation, and O. E., M. E. *wēne* adj. 'hopeful', *orwēne* despairing'[1]) = O. W. Scand. *vænn* adj.); rime-words *ǭn, bǭn, gǭn, lǭn, stǭn* in Böddeker's Altengl. Dichtungen, *stǫnes* Tundalus, *fǭn, nǭn, at ǭn* etc., R. Gl. (Pabst p. 43), *anǭn*, Hav. v. 2616. See Zupitza, Zeitschr. f. Oestr. Gymn. 1875 p. 131, Notes to Guy of Warwick v. 10329, Hupe, Cursor Studies p. 195, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 936. The corresponding genuine

[1]) The O. E. and M. E. *i*-mutated forms are all to be considered as being of native origin, unless there should be some evidence of an *ē*-vowel, in which case Scand. origin would be certain. Knigge p. 81, without sufficient reason, derives M. E. *wēne* in Gaw. from Scand. *vænn*. Professor Morsbach kindly in forms me that the *i*-mutated words seem always to rime with *ē* and consequently are to be considered native.

English form, of course would have been O. E. **wōn*, M. E. **wǭn*, also suggested by the *i*-mutated O. E. sb. *wēn* and adj. *wēne*.[1])

b) With regard to the spelling *a* in M. E. words corresponding to Teutonic *æ*, there is, in some cases, another difficulty. The spelling *a* may occasionally depend on the sound-change *ę̄* > *ă* owing to the position before a consonant group, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. § 96, 2 b. It is not quite settled to what extent Teutonic *æ* became Anglian *ē* and to what extent it became Anglian *æ* (thus *e. g.* the Orrmulum has *æ* as well as *ē*), and therefore it is generally not easy to say whether *a* (corresponding to a Teutonic *æ*) before a consonant group is from O. E. *æ* or from Scand. *ā*. Thus *e. g.* M. E. *wapen, wapman* may, for the most part, be from O. E. *wæ(p)en, wæpman* quite as well as from O. Scand. *vāpn*, whereas M. E. *wǭpen* is distinctively Scandinavian. Likewise M. E. *blast* sb., *blasten* vb., may in some instances perhaps be derived from O. E. *blæst, blæstan* rather than from O. Scand. *blástr*. But such a question, of course, cannot be settled until it has been ascertained to what extent M. E. *ę̄* existed corresponding to Teutonic *æ* in the dialects where *blast* occurs or to what extent forms with *ę̄* may have been introduced from one dialect into another, in which *ē* was originally the regular result of Teutonic *æ*.[2]) In such words, on the other hand, as M. E. *warloghe*

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[1]) M. E. *þe wǭnde* 'the devil' (Misc. 175) is from O. W. Scand. *vándr*, O. Swed. *vānder*, adj., 'evil, bad' (concerning O. Swed. *ōnder*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 66,7); but *ō* (< *ā*) cannot, taken by itself, be considered a criterion of loan, as it is not by rimes proved to have been *ǭ*. The word is not identical with O. W. Scand. *vándr* 'difficult', which has been introduced into English in M. E. *wanndrāþ*, etc. Stratm.-Bradley do not distinguish between the two completely different words.

[2]) As for the origin of *blast* opinions vary; cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. § 62 Anm., § 96 Anm. 2, 2 b, Gerken, Sprache des Bischof Douglas p. 3, Skeat, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v., N. E. D., Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 180 (: 'Gen. and Ex. and T. M. have *blast* in rhyme; this exception to the general rule may be due to the influence of the vb. *blawen*'). — Of course, *a* in *blast* in some dialects may depend on O. E. *æ*, in others on Scand. *ā*. Still it is noteworthy, that there are no forms with M. E. *ǭ* recorded (cf. N. E. *most, ghost*), which speaks perhaps in favour of its native origin. A careful investigation into the history of English vowels (esp. *ā, æ, ă, ai* from Scand. *ei, ey*) before *st* in the different dialects would no doubt

'liar' (see Stratm.-Bradley), *a* is undoubtedly from O. E. *æ* (O. E. *wǣrloza*) although there is an O. W. Scand. *vár* 'faith, truth'.[1]) — Another difficulty is offered by the prt. pl. of the strong verbs of the 4th and 5th classes, because it is often very difficult to decide to what extent the *ā*, *ǭ*, rather common in these verbal forms, is due to analogy or generalisation or even to an O. E. *ā*. It would carry us beyond the scope of the present treatise to enter fully upon this very entangled question, which cannot be fairly settled without very deep investigations into the history of English verbs.[2]) I must, therefore, content myself with making, in this connection, only a few remarks on the subject. Thus the Scand. origin of such forms as M. E. *wōre(n)* 'were' Oct. (cf. Sarrazin, Oct. p. XVI), Bokenh. (rime-word: *lǭre, befǭre,* cf. Hoofe, E. St. VIII p. 220), Gen. and Ex. 347, 2446, Hav. 258, 503, 717, 1938,

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settle the question of this and many other words (cf. M. E. *fraisten, gnaisten*). — Professor Morsbach points out to me that the consistent writing *blast* in Midland texts undoubtedly points to Scand. influence. Also in the North, *blast* is the regular form, and as in the northern dialects W. Teut. *ā* is always represented by *ē* or *ĕ* (Mittelengl. Gramm. § 96, 2), the *a*-vowel of the word — as far as these dialects are concerned — puts Scand. origin beyond a doubt.

[1]) In some M. E. texts, O. E. *æ* is frequently represented by *ā*, which is, consequently, in these texts no criterion of Scand. origin. This *ā* never becomes *ǭ*. Concerning this translation of *æ* > *ā*, Professor Morsbach has kindly placed the following particulars at my disposal: In monuments representing South East parts of England (in the Neighbourhood of Kent, not in the strictly Kentish monuments), every West Saxon *æ* (= *ai* + *i* or West Teut. *ā*, Goth. *ē*) is often represented by *ā*; the existence of this *ā* is proved by numerous rimes. This sound-change can only be proved for this part of England and takes place already in early Middle English. When, on the other hand, an *ā* instead of *æ* appears more or less frequently in other South English monuments of the transitional period as well as in Laȝamon's A-text, such an *ā* probably depends on errors of the copyists (although perhaps not always). But from such writings in the texts, no reliable conclusions concerning Scand. influence may be drawn at present.

[2]) For further particulars it will suffice to refer to Bülbring, Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwörter innerhalb des Südenglischen, Strassburg 1889 (Quellen u. Forschungen 63) and Wackerzapp, Geschichte der Ablaute der starken Zeitwǫrter innnerhalb des Nordenglischen I, Münster 1890.

2661 etc. (rime-words *mǭre, sǭre*), Chest., Erl of Tolous 716 (rime-words *befǭre, thǭre*), Seege of Tr., *drape(n)* 'killed' A. S., Chron. 1137, E. E. Ps. (see N. E. D.) [1]), *dropen* Gen. and Ex. 2648 [2]), *gouen, youen* 'gave' Hav. 164, Gen. and Ex. 297, 844, Will. 4781, *goten* 'got' Wicl. Gen. VI, 4, Mand. 67, *goue* (opt.) Gen. and Ex. 3941, is, at least, very probable,[3]) whereas M. E. prt. pl. *wāre*, although often possibly Scand. (cf. Scholle, Minot p. XIV), in some cases may be explained from O. E. *wǣron* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 206) owing to weak stress (cf. M. E. *thare* < O. E. *þǣr*, Luick l. c.). M. E. *quoðen* 'spoke' Gen. and Ex. 9993, 3267 may, although probably Scand., be due to the influence of the sing. *quoð* where *o* depends on the preceding *w* [4]) and in M. E. pret. pl. *boren* 'bore' Gen. and Ex. 684 etc., *ō* may have been introduced from the past part., [5]) whereas in *bāren*, 'bore', Langl. P. Pl. V. 139, Ch.,[6]) *gāten* 'got' Will. 1592, *ā* may depend on the influence of the singular.[7]) Very difficult to explain is M. E. pret. pl. *spoke(n)* Gen. and Ex. 2913 Langl. P. Pl. B. II. 225, etc., which can hardly be considered dependent on direct Scand. influence, because there probably never was any such word in Scand. and because there are other explanations allowable. — *a* (mostly of undecided quantity) occurring in pret. pl. of the same verb-class in some southern

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[1]) In *drapen a* still could be from the singular.

[2]) Is *o* in pret. sg. *drop* Hav. 2229 due to the influence of the plural?

[3]) Bülbring p. 59 considers such forms as *wore* to be from O. E. forms in *ā* (< Teut. *æ*) and seems inclined to ascribe them to a peculiarity of the East English dialects. But the very fact that these forms occur chiefly in East English monuments points to their Scandinavian origin. — Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033 assumes Scand. origin for M. E. *gouen, goten, woren*.

[4]) In Southern monuments in which O. E. *ā* has not yet become *ǭ*, *o* in *quoð* can only be explained through the influence of the preceding *w*, see Bülbring p. 64.

[5]) *o* also occurs in pret. sg. *bore* Trev., *bor* Gen. and Ex. 425, see Bülbring p. 66.

[6]) Cf. ten Brink, Ch. Gr. § 192.

[7]) Another — and possibly preferable — explanation is given by Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 141 f. Dubious are *baren, braken, isagen, waren* Laz. (the quantity of *a* is uncertain), held by Bülbring p. 60 to be due to the generalisation of the vowel of the singular. As for *wāren* Serm., see Bülbring p. 61.

M. E. texts is considered by Bülbring p. 57 ff. to be $\bar{a}$ and explained from O. E. $\bar{a}$ according to Kluge, Anglia Anz. l. c.; $\bar{a}$ instead of an expected $\bar{o}$, he explains by assuming that O. E. $\bar{a}$ (< Teut. $\bar{e}$) was qualitatively different from O. E. $\bar{a}$ (< Teut. *ai*) and therefore did not become $\bar{o}$ to the same extent as did the latter, a supposition which is rendered rather uncertain by the M. E. words in which O. E. $\bar{a}$, apparently from Teut. $\bar{e}$, has practically become $\bar{o}$, but however these forms are to be accounted for, Scand. influence is likewise excluded, because Scand. $\bar{a}$ became M. E. $\bar{o}$ to the same extent as did O. E. $\bar{a}$ (< Teut. *ai*). Remarkable are such past parts. as M. E. *gouen, (i)ȝouen, youen* Engl. Gilds 53, Hoccl. I 9, Gow. I, 79, P. P. p. 538 Hav. 220, 224, etc. 'given', *yspoke* R. Gl., *ystoke* Ed. and Ethelr. (some material is collected by Bülbring pp. 63, 66, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 139 ff.), probably due to such a proportion as *ȝeuen* : *ȝaf* : *x* = *beren* : *bar* : *boren*.[1]) — All these questions require, in order to be fairly settled, the knowledge of the analogical tendencies and the phonological and other conditions of every separate monument, and often a form, occurring in one text, is to be explained differently from the same form occurring in another.

I now proceed to give the most reliable part of the material. Some words which may possibly be Scand. although I am not convinced of their being so, will be mentioned afterwards.

M. E. *bāle* sb., 'a funeral pile, bonfire', M. H. p. XII, p. 169, Alex. (Sk.) 562, 2237, Barb. Bruce XVII 619. Pl. Cr. v. 667. 1329, N. E. dial. *bale* 'a blaze, a flame', also 'a place where lead has been smelted', *bale-hill* 'an ancient smelting place',

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[1]) As for M. E. past part *gesogen* Kent. Gosp., *ysogen* Ayenb. (of O. E. *sēon* 'to see'), see Bülbring p. 69, 71. — Other M. E. forms in $\bar{o}$ of this verb are given and explained by Bülbring p. 73. Still some of these forms could be of Scand. origin: O. Swed. *sāgh* pret. sg., *sāgho* pret. pl. 'saw' (see Söderwall, Ordb.) are to be taken into consideration for the explanation of M. E. pret. sg. *soȝ* Fer., *sogh* D. Troy, pret. pl. *sowen* Hav. 957, *sogen* Gen. and Ex. 3522, *sowen* Gen. and Ex. 3108. But *sowen, sogen* are perhaps to be explained as native forms: cf. O. E. (R^1) *sāȝun*, Siev., Ags. Gr.[3] § 391 Anm. 7 (*sowen* is hardly from O. E, *sāwon*, see Bülbring l. c.).

E. D. D.[1]); N. E. dial. *bole* sb. (North., Wm., Yorksh., Der.) 'a place, usually a round cavity on the summit of a hill, where lead was smelted before the introduction of smelting mills', *bole-hills* 'heaps of metallic scoria, which are the remains of the ancient method of smelting lead in the open air', *bole*, 'a lime-kiln' (E. D. D.) is perhaps the same word[2]): O. W. Scand. *bál* 'blaze, flame, funeral pile', O. Swed. *bāl*, O. Dan. *baal* 'a funeral pile', (= O. E. *bǣl*, M. E. *bel.*) In English the loan-word is exclusively northern. By later writers it is much mixed up with *bale*, 'destruction, calamity', see N. E. D. s. v.

M. E. *bāre*, sb. 'wave' M. H. p. 135, Trist. 356, N. E. dial. *bore*, sb. 'the tidal wave in some rivers, esp. the Severn and Parret' (E. D. D.), cf. N. E. D., Stratm.-Bradley, Skeat, Et. D., Trans. Phil. soc. 1899 p. 261 f.: O. W. Scand. *bára* sb. 'wave' (= M. E. *bēre* 'wave' La3., L. Germ., Dutch *bār* 'wave', Doornk.-Koolm., Franck Et. Wb., Brem. Wb.[3])

M. E. *blast* is in some dialects undoubtedly Scand. see p. 84.

M. E. *brāþ* 'violent, angry' Orrm., C. M., *brǭþe* Gaw. 2233 A. P. II 1409, *brāþli*, *brǭþli* adj., adv., C. M., Map., Anglia II 240, A. P. II 847, 1256, Man. (H.)., Perc., Life of St. Cuthb., Alex. (Sk.) etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *brath, braith,* adj., *brathful, braithful,* adj., *brathly, braithly,* adj. and adv., *broth,* adj., *brotheful, brothely,* adj.: O. W. Scand. *bráðr*, O. Swed. *brāþer*, early Dan. *braadh*, probably related to O. E. *brǣdan* 'to roast, fry'

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[1]) As in Pl. Cr., O. E. *ā* has become *ǭ*, the spelling *bale* is astonishing but is perhaps a word introduced from some more northern dialect. N. E *bale.*, of course, may in some cases be the native word.

[2]) Wright E. D. D. s. v. *bole* sb.[3] supposes the word to be 'a spec. mg. of lit. Engl. *bowl*'. But the sense congruency of *bale, bale-hill, bole, bole-hill* makes it probable, that *bole* is only a more southern form of *bale.*

[3]) M. E. *bare* 'bier, litter' (: *me leiden hem in bare and burden hem ful gare* K. Horn. 915 f.) most likely contains the same Teutonic vowel (*æ*) as do Germ. *Bahre*, O. Swed. *bār* 'a barrow, litter', N. E. *bier*, as in K. Horn *a* often represents an O. E. *æ* (cf. p. 85); but it may also be from the same Teutonic base as O. W. Scand. *barar* 'a hand-bier, funeral bier', as for which see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Bahre.* But, as Professor Morsbach kindly points out to me, the latter alternative is rendered improbable by the fact that — apart from such monuments as K. Horn — only the form *bēre* is recorded in M. E.

brǣde, 'roast meat', H. G. *braten,* O. W. Scand. *bráð* 'roast, meat', O. Swed. *brāþ* 'roast meat' etc., cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *bråd,* Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 9; O. E. *brād-* 'roasting' in *brādhlaf* (Wr. Voc. 277,4), *brādpanne* is given by Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., but as I do not know how early this *brād-* occurs for the first time — *brādpanne* is not to be found in Bosw.-Toller's Dict. — I cannot decide whether *ā* is due to the influence of O. W. Scand. *brāð,* O. Swed. *brāþ.*[1]) From this adj. (M. E. *brāþ*) the sb. *braþþe* 'anger', Orrm, *brathe,* A. P., D. Troy, etc. (see N. E. D.) has been formed on English ground, (see Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 35, N. E. D.), whereas M. E. *breth* 'ire, fury, rage' E. E. Ps. II 5, C. M., Wicl., Townl. Myst., etc., has been borrowed directly from O. Scand. *brǣði* which shows *i*-mutation and therefore does not, properly speaking, belong to this heading.

M. E. *fǭwen* 'to clean, cleanse' Sir Bev. 1120 (MS. A), M. S. in Archæologia XXX 351 (ca. 1350), Pr. P. (*foware* 'purgator', *fowynge* 'purgatio', *fowyn* 'purgo') p. 174 f. (see N. E. D.) O. W. Scand. *fága* 'adorn, cultivate, clean, cleanse'; for the etymology, see Tamm Sv. Et. Ordbok s. v. *fäja.* Forms with *ā* do not seem to occur in East Scand.

O. E. *grā-scinnen* adj. 'made of grey fur' A. S. Chron. 1167 (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933), *grā, grǭ,* adj. 'grey', sb. 1. gray fur', 2. 'felon, evil spirit, devil': St. Marh. p. 6, St. Jul. p. 53, H. M. p. 43, M. Hom. p. 42, Spec. Lyr. Poetry ed. Wright p. 26, Launfal v. 235, 237, (*grohund*) Parten. 1389, see Mätzner Wb., Stratm.-Bradley, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941, 1034 : O. W. Scand. *grár,* 'grey, inimical, hostile', O. Swed. *grār* 'grey; unfriendly', O. W. Scand. *gráskinn,* O. Swed. *grāskin.* The genuine English forms (O. E. *grǣg,* M. E. *grei, grai*) never occur in the sense of Scand. *grār,* 'hostile, unfriendly' (whence M. E. *grā* 'felon, evil spirit, devil'). For the etymology of the word, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *grau,* Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *gray, grey.* Although, from the mere point of view of form, O. E., M. E. *grā* might perhaps have existed as a native word from a Teutonic base **grǣwa-*, I do not hesitate to give the word

[1]) M. E. *brād* 'roasted, broiled' Gaw. 891 is the past part. of *brēden* (O. E. *brǣdan*), cf. N. E. D. s. v., Mätzner s. v. *breden.*

here, because not only the form (genuine English *grǣȝ*!) but also all other circumstances (distribution, sense, occurrence in the unmistakable Scand. comp. *grāskinn*) point to Scand. origin.

M. E. *grāten*, *grǭten*, *grǭtinde* (pres. part.) 'to weep, cry' Hav. 241, 285, 328, 1390 (rime-words *lāten*, *hǭten*), Gen. and Ex. 1984, M. E. *grǭt* sb. 'weeping' Gen. and Ex. 1577 etc.: O. W. Scand. *gráta* vb., *grátr*, sb., O. Swed. *grāta* vb., *grāter* sb., (= O. E. *grœtan*, M. E. *grēten* 'to weep').

M. E. *hāð* 'scorn, contempt' in the compound *hāðful* 'scornful' Hom. I 279: O. W. Scand. *hāð* f. 'scorn, contempt'; see consonants.

M. E. *hār*, *hǭr* 'hair' C. M. 3662, Hav. 235 (rime-word *sǭr* < O. E. *sār*), Hamp. Pr. C. 5007, Iw. 823, Alex. (Sk.) 5476, Life of St. Cuthb. 6961, Wr. Voc. 647, 6, Townl. Myst. 87, Cath. Angl. (but cf. p. 92) etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *hair*, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1034: O. W. Scand. *hár* (= O. E. *hǣr*, M. E. *hār*.[1])

O. E. *lāh* adj. 'low', see Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. II p. 13, M. E. *lāh*, *lāȝ*, *lǭȝ*, *low* etc. 'low' Orrm. (Brate l. c. p. 47), Laȝ., A. R., Hav., A. P., Gaw. etc., *lāhe*, *lāȝhe*, etc. adv., (a very common word-stem in all M. E. dialects, see Dictionaries), whence the M. E. verb *lāȝhenn*, *lǭȝen* etc. 'to lower, depress' Orrm., etc.: O. W. Scand. *lágo*, O. E. Scand. *lāgher*.[2])

M. E. *lāt*, *lǭt*, 'look, behaviour, manners, sound, voice, noise, tune, melody' Orrm. ('appearance, manner, behaviour'; the length of the vowel is here proved twice by accent

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[1]) The rime *hare* (MS. *here*) : *care* Meiden Marg. (M. S. Trin. Coll. Cambr.) 35 (cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm p. 86) may be due to the change of O. E. *æ* > M. E. *ā*, as for which see p. 85. Prof. Morsbach calls my attention to the possibility of the reading *here* being put for **hōre*: the poem in question is in strophes of 4 lines, generally riming alike. The rime-words in the passage where the word occurs are: *sǭre* : *here* ('hair') : *care* ('care') : *mǭre* (O. E. *ā* is in the language of the poet proved by rimes to have become *ǭ*); cf. strophe 4: *bere* (3. sg. pret.) : *furfare* (inf.) : *gare* ('ready') : *lore* (put for *lere*).

[2]) Concerning M. E. *leie* 'low', occurring, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 1030 (cf. p. 939) in the poems of Shoreham, I have not been able to form an opinion, mainly because I cannot find the passage where it occurs. — Scand. *lágr* is connected with Scand. *liggia*, O. E. *licȝan*, cf. Karsten l. c. p. 40.

and thrice by the position at the end of the septenar,[1]) Kath., Marh., A. R. ('look, face'), M. H. 123 ('voice', the C. MS. reads *voice,* cf. Small, Metr. Hom. p. 185), Gaw. 118, 2210, A. P. III 161 (*the lot of the windes*: 'sound') Anglia I 73 (*lot*), Gen. and Ex. 1162, 2257 (*lote*), Alex. (Sk.) (: *the lates of the foules*), etc., see Dictionaries: O. W. Scand., *lát* n. 'sound, manners, behaviour', O. Swed. *lāt* n. and f. 'gesture, manner, behaviour, sound, lamentable cry' (Söderwall, Ordb.), N. Swed. *lât* 'tune, melody', O. Dan. *lad* sound, noise, behaviour' (Kalkar, Ordbog). The by-form O. W. Scand. *láti* 'sound, behaviour', O. Swed. *lāte* 'manners, behaviour, sound', which shows *i*-mutation, is the source of M. E. *lāte, lēte,* 'looks, etc.' (see Dictionaries) — but here there is, of course, no phonetic criterion of loan (cf. M. E. *brēthe* p. 88).

M. E. *lăten, (for)lǭten* vb. 'to let, permit, dismiss, omit, leave, abandon, look, behave oneself, etc.', a rather frequent word, *e. g.* Orrm. ('to bear oneself'), Best., Hav., Pr. C., A. P. II 101 (*forlotez*), etc., see Dictionaries: O. W. Scand. *láta*, O. Swed. *lăta*, O. Dan. *ladhæ* (= O. E. *lætan*, M. E. *lāten, lēten*). M. E. *laten* in texts in which O. E., O. Scand. *ā* is represented by *ǭ* (*e. g.* Langl. P. Pl., P. Pr.) must be the unstressed form (cf. prec. word). It is uncertain whether *a* had been already shortened in Scand. when the word was introduced into English or whether the shortening took place on English ground.[2])

M. E. *nāþe* 'grace' Orrm. (cf. Brate l. c. p. 51): O. W. Scand. *náð*, O. Swed. *nādh* etc.

M. E. *rāþ*, *rǭþ*, *rād* sb. 'counsel, direction' Orrm., Hav., St. Kath., Arth. and Merlin, *rāþenn, rǭþen* vb. 'to counsel, advise' Orrm., Had., *orrāþ*, adj., 'doubtful', *wanndrāþ* 'suffering', Orrm.: O. W. Scand. *ráð* sb., *ráða* vb., O. Swed. *rāþ*, *rāþa* etc.

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[1]) N. Swed. *later*, N. Dan. *lader* 'manners' point to a short *a* at the time when O. Swed., O. Dan. became *å*. This is perhaps due to the influence of the verb *lăta*, doublet to *lāta* owing to weak stress, see next word (cf. Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v *Lader*). Likewise it is possible that *a* was occasionally short in the English word, too — perhaps in *lates* A. R. p. 50, 90 etc. (in A. R., O. E. *ā* has with a few exceptions — *e. g. gāte herden* 'herds of goats' p. 100 — become *ǭ*, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. § 135 Anm. 1).

[2]) *late* in Vices and Virt. p. 78 etc., K. Horn and other texts in which O. E. *æ* has become *a*, may be from O. E. *lætan*.

(= O. E. *rǣd, rǣdan*, M. E. *rēd, rēdan*); also *þ* instead of *d* is a sort of criterion, and it is most likely that in M. E. *reaþ, reaþesman* (St. Kath.) *ð* is due to the influence of the Scand. word (cf. O. W. Scand. *ráðismaðr ráðsmaðr*; as for O. E. *rǣdesmann* see p. 12.) M. E. *reaþ* (= *rẹ̄ð*), consequently, seems to be a mixed form (< O. E. *rǣd* + O. Scand. *rāð*); in other cases M. E. *ẹ̄* in words of this root depends on Scand. *æ*, owing to *i*-mutation: thus M. E. *wandrethe* is from O. W. Scand. *vandræði* and perhaps M. E. *reaþesman* from O. W. Scand. *ráðismaðr*. In Vices and Virtues, ed. Holthausen, *rād* occurs by the side of *rǣd*, both forms *e. g.* p. 71, but *rād* is hery no doubt from O. E. *rǣd* (cf. p. 85). — O. E. *rādstefn* (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 183), *unrād* (Chron.) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 f., derives from Scand. *ráð*: as for *rādstefn*, the sense is not quite clear (cf. Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.), and therefore the etymology uncertain. But it seems to represent rather a W. Teutonic **raid* — and to be related to *rīdan*. Also *rād* in *unrād* may be from W. Teutonic **raid*: Earle and Plummer, Two of the Saxon Chronicles, Oxf. 1892, translate it by 'an unlawful raid, hostile invasion', which may be right.

M. E. *scọ̄le, skọ̄le* 'bowl, lanx' A. R. 214 (*scoale*), Laz. II 1182 (*scole*), A. P. II 1145 (*scole*), Pr. P. p. 449 (*scole*: 'lanx'): O. W. Scand. *skál* 'bowl, scale', O. Swed. *skāl*. I here intentionally omit the M. E. examples of the spelling *scale* etc. (see Stratmann-Bradley) as representing O. Scand. *ā*, because N. E. *scale* instead of **scole* offers some difficulties, whereas M. E. *scọ̄le* contains, with complete certainty, the O. Scand. *ā*-sound. It seems to me to be somewhat venturous to derive N. E. *scale* from O. Scand. *skāl*, as has often been done (thus *e. g.* Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 936, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *scale*) because an *a* instead of *o* is not thus easily explained (hardly a northern form?). It may be noticed that spellings with *sch* occur occasionally (A. R. 214, M. H. 120), which together with the fact that Halliwell, Dict. quotes a Mod. Engl. dial. *shale* 'an earthen pan' (Somerset) leads to the assumption that there may have existed in O. E. a native word **scalu* with a sense identical with or similar to that of O. Scand. *skāl*. Perhaps this presumed native word is to be found in O. E. *scalu, wǣgscalu* 'scale of a balance' (Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.), which, how-

ever, does not occur early enough to exclude the possibility of Scand. origin.[1]) But if there was a native O. E. *scălu*, M. E. *shale* 'scale of a balance', it is very tempting to explain M. E. *scale*,[2]) N. E.. *scale* as being from the native word, *sc* instead of *sh* depending on the influence of the Scand. *skāl*, M. E. *scǫle*; cf. Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 282 who seems to be of a similar opinion (cf. also Erdmann, Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets Förhandlingar 1882—85 p. 146). It may be mentioned, by way of comparison, that the native O. E. *scalu* 'shell, husk' has in M. E. become *scale (scale of a fish*, Gow., *scale of a walnut*, P. Pl., *scale* 'squama' Pr. P., cf. *scalin* 'exquamo' ib.) through the influence of French *escale* 'a shell' (Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1891—94 p. 145, Sweet, H. E. S.[2] p. 282) or perhaps, to some extent, through the influence of O. E. Scand. *skal* 'shell, husk' (see consonants).

M. E. *scale* sb. 'shanty' C. M. 8592, N. E. dial. (Cumb.) *scale*, sb., 'a hut' (Wall, Anglia XX p. 116): O. W. Scand. *skáli* 'ædes' (not found in E. Scand.) As for the reading *schale* in C. M., probably an error, see further on under Scand. *sk*.

M. E. *spā* sb. 'prophecy' C. M. 14526, *spā* vb. 'to prophesy' C. M. 18988, N. E. dial. *spae* 'to prophesy' (see Wall p. 121): O. W. Scand. *spá* sb. and vb., O. Swed. *spā* vb. (cf. O. H. G. *spāhi* 'wise, skilful'). The original *h* was probably dropped before the word was introduced into English (Noreen, Aisl. Gr.[2] § 234), see consonants.

M. E. *wǫpen* 'weapon' Gen. and Ex. 469, *wǫpenen* 'to provide with weapons, arm' Gen. and Ex. 3373: O. W. Scand. *vápn*, O. Swed. *vāpn*. Also M. E. *wapen, wapnen* may be, for some part, from Scand., cf. above p. 84, Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. § 60, Anm. 1, § 96, Anm. 2, 2, b. — In O. E. *wǣpenȝetæc, wepentac* cf. M. E. *wapentake*, N. E. *wapentake*) there is no outward test of loan although it is, from other reasons, probable that the word has been formed after Scandinavian pattern, cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 85 ff., Bosw.-Toller, Skeat, Princ. I p. 479,

[1]) Kluge, Grundr.[2] I p. 934 considers the O. E. word borrowed from Scand.

[2]) In M. E. *scale a* is for the most part ambiguous as regards its original quantity, as it may correspond to O. E. *ă* as well as to O. Scand. *ā* (cf. the examples in Stratm.-Bradley's Dictionary).

Et. D., Kluge, Grundr². I p. 935, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict. and above p. 12.

M. E. *ware,* 'spring' Hamp. Ps., *wayre,* Cath. Angl. p. 408: O. W. Scand. *vár,* O. E. Scand. *vār* (= Lat. *vēr,* M. E. = *wēr,* Barb., Bruce v. 1 *ve(e)r,* see Herrtage, Cath. Angl. p. 408, footnote).[1])

M. E. *wāþe, wōþe,* sb., 'peril, hurt', Ps., Gaw., A. P., D. Erk. (cf. Knigge p. 80), Alex. (Sk.), Pr. C., Barb., Av. Arth., *wǭtheli,* adv., 'perilously', D. Troy, see Stratmann-Bradley: O. W. Scand. *váði,* 'hurt, peril', *váðaliga,* adv., O. Swed. *vāþi,* 'peril, danger'.

Some words the Scand. origin of which is, as far as based on the criterion of *ā,* more or less uncertain and some not found until N. E., may now be added. Words decidedly not from Scand. in *ā,* are given within brackets.

[M. E. *fon,* adj. and sb., 'foolish; fool', M. E. *fonnen,* 'to be foolish', *fonned,* p. partic., 'fond, infatuated', has often been derived from Scand.: O. Swed. *fāne,* early Dan. *foane,* 'a fool'. But there are some circumstances which render this etymology very doubtful, see N. E. D. s. v. *fon, fond.*[2])]

N. E. dial. *far,* 'sheep', Wall p. 98: O. E. Scand. *fār,* O. Norw. *fār,* (as for O. W. Scand. *fér,* see Noreen, Altisl. Gr². § 68, 2).

M. E. *fǭre,* 'fear', Lamb. Hom. 97 (error for *feor?,* cf. Stratm.-Bradley), Chron. Vilod 3295 (rime-word *evermore*), M. E. *fārlāc,* 'fear, terror', St. Kath., St. Marh., see Stodte, Sprache und Heimat der Katherine-Gruppe, Göttingen 1896, p. 31. It is difficult to decide whether this southern *fār, fǭr* is from O. W. Scand. *fár,* 'enmity, injury, fraud' (< Teut. **fær-,* cf. Tamm., Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *fara* fem.) or actually represents an O. E. **fār,* variant to O. E. *fǣr,* 'danger, calamity, attack' (as *swǣr, swār,* Sievers, Ags. Gr.³ § 57, Anm. 3, cf. N. E. D. s. v. *fear*).

[M. E. *ȝrāre, ȝǭre,* 'long ago', is from O. E. *ȝeāra.* Influence may, to some extent, have been exercised by O. Scand. *ār* (> M. E. *ār, ǭr,* 'early') 'long ago, formerly', as for which see

[1]) Perhaps is *wayre,* Cath. Angl., from O. E. **wǣr;* nevertheless it is worthy of note that Cath. Angl. has *heire* < O. E. *hǣr, hare* ib. possibly being the Scand. word *hár,* cf. p. 90.

[2]) An attempt to explain this very puzzling word has recently been made by Skeat, Trans. Phil. Soc. 1899. p. 275 f.

Tamm., Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *arla.*[1]) It is worthy of note that in O. W. Scand. there was also the expression *í ár* 'early' (cf. Fritzner Ordb.), which might have become **íjár, *jár,* quite as O. Swed. *ī ādhans* 'newly, lately' has become N. Swed. *i jåns* and O. Dan. *ī ādens* has become *(i) jons, jonsen* (Kalkar, Ordb. I p. 456). Still, as the O. E. word is quite sufficient to explain the M. E. *ā*-, *ǭ*-vowel, it is unnecessary to assume any Scand. influence at all.]

N. E. dial. *haaf* etc. sb. 'a pock-net, sea-net', see Wall Anglia X, p. 105: O. W. Scand. *háfr,* O. Swed. *hāf.*[2])

[M. E. *hwār(e), quǭr(e), wǭr* (= *quŏr(e), wŏr?*) 'where' (the forms in *o* are in Gen. and Ex.) cannot be from Scand., because Scand. *hvar* showed short *a* (cf. Goth. *hwar*), *hwār(e)* may in some cases be from O. E. *hwār(a)* (Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 321 Anm. 2), in other cases from O. E. *hwār.* The *o*-forms may be from O. E. *hwār(a).* Or has the preceding *w* contributed to the *o*-sound? But compare *þore* p. 97.]

M. E. *crake,* N. E. *crake* 'crow, rook' may be partly from O. W. Scand. *kráka,* O. Swed. *krāka,* but may be partly identical with the M. E. vb. *craken* 'to cry out'. Cf. the material given in N. E. D.

[M. E. *quad* 'bad' Gen. and Ex. 536 etc., Wycl, Ch. Prioress's Prol. 4 (= B. 1628)[3]), Gower II 246. The regular M. E. form is *quēd.* It cannot be from Scand., because there is no such word recorded in the Scand. languages and, if from Scand., we should have to expect the form to have been in the texts, in which *ā* is represented by *ǭ, *quǭð.*]

[N. E. *log* 'block, piece of wood'. Skeat's etymology, Et. D., does not agree with known sound-laws. An acceptable etymology is given by Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *log.*]

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[1]) Although this *ār* is quite a different word from O. E. *ʒeār,* O. Scand. *ār* 'year' (cf. Tamm l. c.) and from a base *air-*, I still give the word here, because *ā* in the English word represents a Teutonic *æ.*

[2]) Do *haavres, haafures* pl. (see Wall l. c.) contain the Scand. nom. *r*?

[3]) *quaad* Cook's Prol. 33 (= A. 4357) is the Flemish word (: *sooth pley quaad pley, as the Fleming seith*), cf. Skeat, Glossary, s. v., notes to the Cant. Tales p. 129. — According to Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 80 f., M. E. *cwead, qued* is from a Teut. base in *au* and a different word from O. H. G. *quāt.* etc.

[M. E. *māȝe, mǭȝe, mowe* 'kinswoman' A. R., Poema Morale (rime-word *āȝe* 'own'), Laȝ., R. Gl., etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *mǣȝe*) is from an O. E. *māȝe,* doublet to O. E. *mǣȝe* 'kinswoman'].

[M. E. *ras,* N. E. *race* sb. 'a swift course', M. E. *rasen* 'to race, rush, run' is supposed by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 1035, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 337, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *race,* to be from O. W. Scand. etc. *rás* 'a running' (assumed by Kluge-Lutz to be from a Teut. base *rǣs-*, thus also Franck, Et. Wb.).[1]) This supposition seems hardly acceptable, considering the vowel of the N. E. word, unless the word is a northern form (thus Sweet l. c.). I cannot here enter further upon this very difficult word which is probably due to the confusion of several originally different words.[2]) It seems possible that the M. E., N. E. word is in part due to some groundform containing an original short *ă* (cf. O. W. Scand. *ras* 'swiftness, rapidity, quickness', Swed. dial. *ras* 'haste, quickness' (Rietz), O. W. Scand. *rasa* 'to stumble' etc.); but for the settlement of this question many Teut. words need to be taken into consideration which are still more or less obscure etymologically, and in some of which it is difficult to decide the original quantity of *a.*]

M. E. *scāld* 'poet' very likely contains Scand. $\bar{a} < \bar{æ}$ (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 10), but because of the following *ld,* the *ā* is not a test of loan.

[M. E. *slāp, slǭp* sb. 'sleep', *slāpen* vb. 'to sleep' (see Stratm.-Bradley) is from O. E. **slāp, slāpan* (cf. der. as O. E. *slāpol* adj.), Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 57 Anm. 3, Kluge, Anglia An., l. c.,[3]) Sweet H. E. S. p. 125. — The word does not seem to have occurred in

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[1]) O. W. Scand. *rás,* Swed. dial. *rås* is probably from a base **rans-* (cf. Goth. *runs* 'running, course', allied *to rinnan*), see Noreen, Altisl. Gr.[2] § 239,4; it is therefore hardly related to O. E. *rǣs* sb. 'rush, running', which seems to be from a base *rais-*, allied to O. E. *rīsan* (cf. Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.).

[2]) N. E. *race* 'a swiftly running stream', *mill-race* is probably, at least in part, due to O. Fr. *rase, raise* 'conduite d'eau, rigole' also 'millrace' (cf. Cent. Dict.); but cf. O. W. Scand. *rás* 'a course, channel'. M. E. *rasen* in Rich. Coeu de Liou 6333 (: *Saladin began to rase for ire*) may be the same word as N. H. G. *rasen* 'to rage', Dutch *razen* (allied to O. E. *rāsettan*?).

[3]) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033 considers M. E. *slāp* a loan-word.

O. Scand. in the sense 'sleep',[1]) cf. Kluge Et. Wb. s. v. *schlafen*, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *slapen*. — *slāpe* (rime-words *râpe, yshâpe*, K. Horn, MS. C. v. 1417, cf. Wissmann, Unters. p. 28) depends on the change of O. E. *ǣ* > M. E. *ā* (see p. 85 foot-note 1).]

M. E. *strāte*, A. P., Min. VI, 56[2]) (rime-words *lâte, hâte, gâte*), 'road, way', instead of *strēte* (O. E. *strǣt*): O. Swed. *strāta* 'road', N. Swed. *strât* (O. W. Scand. *stræti*, O. Swed. *strāte*, Dan. *stræde* are probably from O. English, cf. Kluge, E. St. IX p. 312, Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XVI p. 238 ff.). It is uncertain whether the word had been introduced early enough into Scand. to find its way thence into English (cf. Sievers l. c.). Could the E. form depend on later introduction from Latin (cf. Pogatscher p. 119)?

M. E. *swār(e)* 'heavy, sore, grievous', Orrm, Flor., Gaw., is from O. E. *swār* (Kluge, Angl. Anz. l. c. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 57 Anm. 3) rather than from O. W. Scand. *svárr* 'heavy, grievous', O. Swed. *swār* 'heavy etc.', although Scand. influence is not definitely excluded.[3])

M. E. *tāle* (Kent. Gosp.), *tǭle* (Shoreh. 36) 'calumny' is from O. E. *tāl* (Kluge l. c., Sievers l. c.) rather than from O. W. Scand. *tál* 'allurement, device'.

N. E. dial. *waag* sb. Yorksh. 'a lever': O. W. Scand. *vág*, O. Swed. *vāgh*, see Wall p. 126.

[M. E. (*þār(e), þǭr(e)* 'there' R. Gl. (Pabst p. 20), Erl of Tolouse 716 (cf. Scholle, Minot p. XIV), Oct. (Sarrazin p. XVI), D. Troy, Chron. Vil. (Heuser, Diss. Göttingen, 1887 p. 17) etc. is from O. E. *þār, þāra* (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 321 Anm. 2,

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[1]) Norw. dial. *slaap* 'a dull fellow', *slaapa* 'to drag, to trail, to proceed slowly and heavily', *slaapen* 'slack, loose', *slaapna* 'to slacken' (Ross), Swed. dial. *slåpig* 'lazy' are probably from the same Teutonic base *slæp*, allied to Germ. *schlapp*, Swed. *slapp* etc. — O. Swed. *slapokamar* 'bed-room', Norw. dial. *slaaprokk* (Aasen), Dan. *slobrok* 'night-gown' are from L. German.

[2]) Hall. Minot[2], Oxf. 1897, derives the word in Minot from O. Fr. *estreit* 'strait' which is hardly right (: *þat es ful wele bithoght to stop Philip the strate*). — *strate* sb. Barb. IV, 458, *stratest* superl. Barb. VI, 463 is certainly the French word. — *strāte* sb. 'road, way', rime-word *hāte* 'heat'), O. E. Hom. II p. 227, depends on the change of *æ* > *ā*.

[3]) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033 holds M. E. *swār*, *tāl* to be loan-words.

Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.); in Scand. *þar* the vowel was short (cf. Goth. *þar*); cf. *hwār(e)*, *quǭr(e)* p. 94.[1])]

B. Scand. *ā* from other sources.

a) In English, *n* had been dropped in prehistoric times before *h* (the loss before *h* was common Teutonic), *s* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I, p. 377, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 45,5 186,1 and when the vowel preceding *n* was an original *ă*, this *ă* is in O. E. represented by *ō* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 66, 67). In Scandinavian, *n* was also dropped in these positions in prehistoric times (cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 576), but when the preceding vowel was an original *ă*, this vowel is in Old Scand. always[2]) represented by *ā* (cf. Noreen Paul's Grundr[2] I p. 556, 559). An *ā* instead of *ō* in English, corresponding to a Teut. *q̄* (+ *h*), *ă* (+ *ns*), is not English, but, if no other source is possible, unmistakably Scandinavian. The words in question are as follows:

O. E. *ās* in proper names from Ssand. *ās-* (= O. E. *ōs* 'god'); the Teut. groundform was *ansu-*, cf. Tamm. Et. Sv. Ordb. p. 15.

M. E. *ās* in *bētās* 'sailyard' R. Brunne (cf. p. 61), *wyndās* windlass, trochlea' Pr. P., Ch., A. P. III 103, R. Brunne etc. (cf. Stratm.-Bradley, Skeat, Princ. I p. 475, Cent. Dict.): O. W. Scand. *áss* 'a pole, main rafter, yard, a rocky ridge', O. Swed. *ās*, O. W. Scand. *beitiáss, vindáss,* O. Swed. *bētās.* Goth. *ans* shows that the genuine English form would have been M. E. **ōs.* — Still it is possible that both words have been introduced from Scand. into English through Norman French, cf. Norm. Fr. *betas* (see p. 61 foot-note 2) *windas,* (*quindas*) s. m. 'treuil, grue, cabestan'.[3])

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[1]) M. E. *pare* in some cases may be from O. E. *pær,* cf. *wāre* p. 85 and *hwār(e)* p. 95.

[2]) As for a secondary exception to this rule, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 73, 2 c.

[3]) Dutch *windaas* 'windlass or engine', quoted by Skeat, Et. D. (from Hexham, Woordenboeck, Rotterd. 1678) is to be taken into consideration as a possible, although not very probable, source of the English word. The word is not to be found in Oudemans' Dictionary. N. Dutch *windas* 'as om te winden' is quite a different word, see Vercouillie, Beknopt Woordenboek s. v.

N. E. dial. *beace* (Yorksh.) 'a stall for a horse or cow' (E. D. D. s. v. *boose* sb.) is probably rather to be derived from O. W. Scand. *báss,* O. Swed. *bās,* than from O. E. **bōs* (= Germ. *Banse*).

[As for M. E. *gǣte* in *gǣtelǣs* 'careless' Orrm., *gǣtenn* 'to direct, preserve, take care of' etc. (Orrm) etc., in which *ǣ* represents the *i* mutation of *ā,* which need not, however, be from a Teut. *ā,* see further on under Scand. *t(t)* < *ht.*]

O. E. *hā* 'rowlock', *hāsǣta* 'rower in warship' (cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 160 f., Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I. p. 933, Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon. Med. and Mod. Series VII 1895 p. 23 and p. 128 f.[1]): O. W. Scand. *hár* 'a thole', O. Swed. *hā,* Swed. dial. *hå.* The ground-form of this Scand. word was *hąh,* see Lidén, Uppsalastudier, p. 89 ff., Noreen, Ugerm., Lautl. p. 25, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 132.[2])

M. E. *haht, hauht, haȝt,* sb. 'danger', Vices and Virtues, Gen. and Ex. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *hætta* 'danger', (cf. O. W. Scand. *hætta,* vb. 'to venture, hazard', O. Swed. *hæt(t)a* vb. 'to venture, try'). It is generally assumed that the Scand. word is from a base **hanht* > **hąht-,* cf. Kluge (Osthoff), E. St. IX p. 312, Noreen, Urgerm. Lautlehre p. 25, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 133. If this etymology be right, as I believe it to be, the M. E. word must be a Scand. loan-word. It is probable that *a* was short and from *ǣ* (< *ā* through *i*-mutation), shortened before *ht,* rather than from *ā* (without *i*-mutation). But in both cases, Scand. origin is unmistakable, as the true native

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[1]) O. E. (*þām*) *hānon* (dat.), discussed by Napier and Stevenson l. c., seems to be from the same word, although the form is difficult to explain. Is it possible to assume that the source of this form was Scand. *hānum* dativ, definite form of Scand. *hār*?

[2]) O. W. Scand. *hár* 'shark, dogfish', Swed. dial. *hå,* Norw. dial. *haa* 'dog-fish', O. Dan. *ha-fisk* (see Lidén l. c. p. 90 f., Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIII p. 34) is most likely ultimately the same word (cf. Lidén, Uppsalastudier l. c., Zupitza l. c. p. 133) and has been introduced into Engl. dial. as *hoe* (cf. Jamieson and Cent. Dict.), *hō* (Shetl., see Jakobsen, Det Norrøne Sprog på Shetland p. 44, 118). A derivative of this *hár* showing *i*-mutation was O. W. Scand. *hæ(i)ngr* 'a male salmon', also used as a n. pr. or nickname. This word also occurs in O. E. documents (XI[th] cy.): *Thurcytel Heyng,* see Searle, Onom. A. Sax. p. 448 (cf. above p. 26, 28).

form would have been either M. E. **hŏht* (without *i*-mutation) or **hĕht* (*i*-mutated).

[Late O. E. *seaht, saht* (the normal form is *seht,* also *sæht*), sb. 'settlement, agreement, etc.' *sahtlian* vb. 'to settle, bring to an agreement, etc.' (see Bosw.-Toller p. 857), M. E. *saht, sahht, sauht* etc., adj., 'reconciled, at peace', *sahtnesse* etc. sb., 'reconciliation, peace', *sahte,* (A. R.: *seihte*) sb. 'reconciliation, peace', *sahten, sahtlen, sahtnien,* vb. 'to reconcile, make peace'. The whole word-group, which does not occur in other West Teutonic languages, is most probably from Scand.;[1]) also the distribution of the word speaks in favour of Scand. origin: O. W. Scand. *sátt, sætt,* sb. 'reconciliation, agreement', *sáttr* 'reconciled', *sætta,* vb. 'to reconcile', O. Swed. *sāt* sb. 'peace, unity', *sāt(t)er* 'at peace, on friendly terms, etc.', N. Swed. *sått,* adj. 'intimate, friendly', etc.; but as there is no absolute evidence of the word being from a Teutonic base, **sanhti-* > **sąhti-,* as assume Noreen (Lidén), Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 152, 4, Urg. Lautl. p. 25, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 210, there is no phonetic criterion of the Scand. origin of the forms in *a.*[2])]

M. E. *wrā, wrǭ* sb. 'corner' C. M., Gaw. etc., see Dial. Prov. p. 22 f.

b) O. W. Scand. *frā* 'from' shows the loss of the original final consonant, cf. Tamm, Etym. Sv. Ordbok p. 176 (s. v. *från*), Noreen, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. III p. 9, 36, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 238, 1, Altschwed. Gramm. § 248, 3; in O. English there are some cases, too, in which a final nasal consonant (viz. *n*) was dropped (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 188, 2); likewise final *n* was dropped, owing to weak stress, in M. E. *o*<*on, i*<*in.* It has often been assumed, that M. E. *frā, frǭ,* N. E. *fro* (in *to and fro*), N. E. dial. *frae, fro* (cf. Bearder, Diss. Giessen 1893—94 p. 88 f.), also in M. E. *frǭward,* N. E. *froward,* is from O. E. *fram, frǫm,* the nasal (*m*) having been dropped owing to the word's being generally weakly accentuated in the sentence; thus *e. g.* Wücker, Paul and Braune's Beiträge I p. 225, Brate

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[1]) Cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 181 f., Brate f. c. p. 53, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934.

[2]) Another etymology of the word is given by Bugge, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XX p. 31 (Sanskr. *saktas* adj. 'verbunden', *saktis* sb. 'Verbindung').

l. c. p. 42, ten Brink, Ch. Gr.[1] § 58. That this cannot be right, is sufficiently shown by means of the phonology of the Orrmulum. The analogy of *o* 'on' in the Orrmulum proves, that if the nasal consonant (*m*) had, owing to weak accent, been dropped in O. E. *frǫm*, this O. E. word would in the Orrmulum have been represented by **frō*, not by *frā*. The form of the word, therefore, is distinctly Scandinavian.[1]) Moreover, all other circumstances speak for Scand. origin. Thus the local distribution of the word, the earliest occurrences of which are to be found in the MS. E. of the Chron.,[2]) Orrm., E. E. Ps. (very often *e. g.* I 4, II 6), Gen. and Ex., C. M., Langl., P. Pl. A., A. P., Gaw. (Knigge, p. 80), is the same as that of most Scand. loanwords, cf. N. E. D., Morsbach, Schriftspr. p. 42 f. It is also worthy of note, that the word was far from always weakly stressed in these early instances (cf. the examples in N. E. D.); in N. E. rec. speech (*to and fro, froward*) the word is always stressed.

c) Teutonic *-ah* + vowel is in O. E., as a rule, represented by *ēa* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 111, 2), in O. Scand. by *ā* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 110). O. E. *ā*, M. E. *ā*, *ǭ* (corresponding to Teut. *-ah* + vowel), instead of O. E. *ēa* and its continuations, would therefore be a reliable test of loan, if the only O. E. representative of Teutonic *-ah* + vowel was *ēa*. But in O. Northumbrian and Kentish (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033), Teutonic *-aha-* seems to have, at least to some extent, become *ā* (North.[3]) *slā, þwā* = W. Sax. *slēan, þwēan*, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 166, 374, Kluge l. c.). It is therefore generally impossible to decide whether *ā*, *ǭ* in such words in late O. E., M. E. depends on Scand. influence or on O. E. *ā* or on the combined influence of both.

A few words may be given here, in which Scand. influence is possible or probable.

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[1]) This is now, I believe, the general opinion, cf. *e. g.* Sweet, H. E. S. p. 336, N. E. D., Holthausen, Literaturbl. XII p. 340, Kluge-Lutz, E. Etym.

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933. — *Frāward* adv. occurs in the Chron. MS. E. 1127, Orrm. etc.

[3]) Rush.[1], Rush.[2], Lind. Gosp. — But in the last two monuments, Scandinavian influence is not absolutely excluded, as some undoubtedly Scand. words occur there.

M. E. *ā* 'stream, water-course' Munim. Magd. Coll. Oxf. No. 7 A (Saltfleetby, Lincolnsh. ca. 1430, see N. E. D.), according to N. E. D. probably from O. Scand. *ā*, cognate with O. E. *ēa*.

M. E. *flān, flǭ* 'to flay' Laʒ., Gen. and Ex., K. Horn, Hav.[1]): O. Scand. *flā* (= O. E. *flēan*.)

N. E. dial. (Scotl.) *ra, ray* 'a sail-yard' (Jamieson), from Scotland introduced into Shetland (see Jakobsen l. c. p. 85, the true Shetlandish form being according to Jakobsen l. c. *rō*) is certainly from Scand. *rá* (< **rahō*-, cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Rahe*).

O. E. *rān* 'rapina' (Laws of Will. the Conqueror), see Bosw.-Toller: O. W. Scand. *rán*, O. Swed. *rān*, cf. O. H. Germ. *birahanen* 'spoliari'. There is no **rēan* found in English. O. E. *rān* is, most certainly, Scandinavian; cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934.

M. E. *slān, slǭn* Best., Hav., Gen. and Ex., etc., see Dictionaries, Wissmann l. c., Fischer, Anglia XI p. 198, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1033: O. Scand. *slā* (= O. E. *slā, slēan*).

d) M. E. *fā* 'not many, few' C. M. 8496, 8599 (M. S. Cott.), *fǭ* Gen. and Ex. 2403 (rime-word *wǭ*), Sir Amadas (Camden) LXX (written *foe*, rime-word: *soe* 'so'), R. Br. Chon. (ed. Hearne) 58, 242, *fon(e)* E. E. Ps. CVI 39, C. M. 15822, 19782, 25904, (MS. Cott.), Hamp. Pr. C. 530, 764, 3731, (: comp. *foner*), Min. II 28, *foun* C. M. 27864 (MS. Cott.)[2]): O. W. Scand. *fár*, pl. *fáir* adj. 'few', O. Swed. *fā* etc. (root *fā*- < **fawo*- = Goth. *fawai*, O. E. *fēawe, feawe, fēa*, see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 73, 1).[3]) The criterion of loan is here based on the different result of Teutonic *aw* + vowel in Scand. and O. English, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 110, Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *få* adj., Sievers l. c. — The forms in *n* are perhaps to be explained according to N. E. D. s. v. *few*.

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[1]) As for the distribution of the form, see, besides the Dictionaries, Wissmann, Unters. zu K. Horn p. 29 f.

[2]) Some references of the different forms are given by Sweet, H. E. S. p. 352. *foune* is somewhat obscure and *fune*, Min., C. M. 18246, still more so. The form *fowe, foue* adj., 'few' is to be explained, as Professor Morsbach informs me, from O. E. *fēawe* > *fāwe*, M. E. *fowe*, as O. E. *scēawian* has become M. E. *showen*. O. E. *ēa* + *w* has become (apart from *ęw, ęu*) M. E. *aw, au* in the North, *ow, ou* in the Midland dialects.

[3]) In part, the Scand. word might be from another base, see Leffler, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. I p. 276 ff., Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *få*, adj.

M. E. *strā* Iw. 2655, Hav. 315, (cf. Hupe, Anglia XIII p. 189), C. M. 7204 (rime-word *tuā*), *strǭ* Barb. III, 320, Dougl. (see Gerken, cf. p. 46): O. W. Scand. *strá*, O. Swed., O. Dan. *strā* (<**strawo-* (cf. Kock, Ind. Forsch. V p. 157) = O. E. *strēaw*, *strēa*, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 111).[1])

e) O. E. *māl* 'action at law, bargaining, agreement, pay', chiefly occurring in the Chronicle, M. E. *māl*, *mǭl* 'speach, language, payment, tribute' (Orrm, O. E. H. II 179, Gen. and Ex., C. M., Misc. 151) is from O. W. Scand. *mál*, O. E. Scand. *māl*, most probably from Teutonic **maþlo-*, cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 559 (= § 46 b), it being uncertain whether **maþl-* has become *māl-* directly or through the intermediate form **mahl-*, as is the view maintained by Streitberg, Urgerm. Gramm. p. 141. This Scand. word meant 'speach, faculty of speach, suit, action, cause, indictment, charge, stipulation', cf. O. W. Scand. *máli* 'contract, agreement'; the genuine English form is O. E. *mœðl* 'an assembly, council, speech, address' (= Goth. *maþl* '*ἀγορά*', O. H. G. *mahal* 'curia'). In M. E. the word-stem is preserved in the verb *maðelen* 'to speak, discourse', *maðelere*, *maðelild*, *maðelung*. The Scandinavian origin of the word (*māl*, *mǭl*), especially in such phrases as O. E. *beran up māl* (= O. W. Scand. *bera upp mál*) and in the compound *māldæg* 'an agreement, covenant' (= O. W. Scand. *máldagi* 'a covenant, agreement, a written deed') cannot be doubted, but although the form of the word also speaks for Scand. origin, the form is not, taken by itself, an absolutely reliable criterion of Scand. origin, because there existed some words in Teutonic of different etymological origin, which, owing to likeness as to form and meaning, are often difficult to discriminate from each other in the Teutonic languages (O. W. Scand. *māl* itself is ambiguous as to its etymology, see Lidén, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XV p. 513), and because the etymology of these words and some phonological questions connected with them, are not as yet sufficiently settled.[2]) Thus, if the original meaning of O. E. *mœðl* etc. was 'a spot', O. E. *māl* 'a spot' (= Goth. *mail*) may be compared,

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[1]) M. E. *strowen* 'to strew' is a native by-form of *strewen strawen*.

[2]) Moreover, the sense of the word, in some cases, is not quite obvious, cf. Bosw.-Toller.

which, if not other circumstances made such a supposition improbable, as far as the form is concerned, could be the same word as O. E. *māl* 'action at law, etc.' — As the Scand. origin of O. E. *māl*, M. E. *māl, mǭl*, is, from several reasons, unmistakable and as the form of the word points distinctly to the same direction, I need not enter upon all questions connected with this and other words of similar form and meaning. I refer to the etymological Dictionaries (esp. Kluge s. v. *Mahl* and *Mal*, Uhlenbeck s. v. *maþl, mail, mēl*). Goth. *maþl* etc. has been discussed by Wiedemann, I. F. I p. 512 f., Lidén l. c., Much., I. F. Anz. X p. 201 f. (cf. also Streitberg, Urg. Gramm. p. 131, 141), N. H. G. *Mahl, Mal*, etc., in later times, by Detter, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. XLII p. 57 f., Schröder ibid. p. 63, Wood, Mod. Lang. Notes 1898 p. 287. — Scand. origin of the O. and M. E. word is generally assumed, cf. *e. g.* Steenstrup, Danelag p. 55, 119, 180 f., Brate l. c. p. 50, Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Mätzner, Wb., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 f., 1033. — O. E. *mǣlan* 'to speak', occurring very early (see Bosw.-Toller, cf. Goth. *maþljan*), may depend on a W.-Sax. loss of *ð*, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] 201, Anm. 2,[1]) although it might, in some instances, depend on Scand. *mǣla* 'to speak'; thus Scand. origin is possible in the case of Byrhtn. *mǣlan* (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 934), but cannot be proved. Likewise O. E. *mǣl* (Byrhtn. 212: *ȝemunaþ ðā mǣla ðe wē oft æt meodo sprǣcon*)[2]) could be from O. W. Scand. *mǽli* 'voice, etc.', but is perhaps to be explained according to Sievers l. c. — M. E. *mǣlenn* 'to speak' (Orrm.), *mǣlen, mēlen* (Misc., Hav., Gaw. etc.), is very likely to be regarded a Scand. loan-word, because the loss of *ð* before *l* with compensatory prolongation of the preceding vowel does not seem to have taken place in O. Anglian.[3])

[f) M. E. *wār, wǭr* 'humour, pus' Orrm. 4782 (: *annd wār annd wirrseann tōc anān ūt off hiss līc tō flōwenn*), C. M. 11835

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[1]) Cf. also Kluge, Kuhn's Zeitschr. XXVI p. 96, Sievers I. F. IV p. 340.

[2]) O. E. *mæl*, Wald. ed. Stephens v. 33, is not easy to translate; if it means 'mark, goal' (cf. Stephens' translation) it is, of course, the same word as O. E. *mǣl* 'measure, time, mark.'

[3]) M. E. *mellen* (rime-words *quelle, welle*, see Mätzner Wb.), on the other hand, is from the O. E. word *meðlan* with *i*-mutation (< **maðlian*), *ll* depending on the assimilation of *ðl* > *ll*.

(Cott. MS. 11832—36: *His teth vt of his heued fell, on ilk side him soght þe sare, It moght naman in lif ha mare. Oueral wrang vte worsum and ware* (v. l. *wore*) *And wormes creued here and þare*), is generally held to be from O. Scand. *var* 'matter, pus'. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 64, sees in the form of the word a test of Scand. origin; in his opinion, the word, which he thinks related to O. H. G. *warah* 'sanies, tabes, putredo', would have, if English, been **warrh* not *wār*.[1]) M. E. *wār*, if connected with the above mentioned Scand. *var*, O. H. G. *warah*, certainly cannot be a genuine English word.[2]) But the length of *ā* is not easily explained by assuming Scand. origin: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *var* had had *ă*, and Brate l. c., Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 111, explain the *ā* of the M. E. word by means of an assumed Scand. dialectal sound-law according to which, after the dropping of *h* after *r, l*, the preceding vowel was lengthened. The other instances of this presumptive sound-law are, at any rate, very scarce and more or less doubtful,[3]) and, besides M. E. *wār*, there are no evidences at all of the existence of an O. Scand. **vār* instead of *văr*.[4]) The current explanation of the M. E. form, therefore, it seems

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[1]) A Teutonic **warh-* would rather have given a M. E. (Orrm.) **wære* or **ware* (later *wâre*) (< O. E. **wēar-, wĕar-*, in the inflected forms, cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 218, 1) or **warrh* (from the O. E. non-inflected form.) As Professor Morsbach kindly points out to me, words of this type show nearly exclusively M. E. *ă* < O. E. *ĕa* of the O. E. inflected forms. This M. E. *ă* was subsequently lengthened: Thus M. E. *Wâles, hâle* (O. E. *healh*), *mâre* (O. E. *mearh*) etc. — M. E. *mēre* (cf. *mūre*) seems to be O. E. fem. *mēre, mȳre* (< *mīere*). What we actually should have to expect in the Orrmulum, would consequently be **ware* (< Teut. **warh-*).

[2]) M. E. *more*, Wright, Spec. of Lyr. Poetry p. 36 is not from O. E. *mearh* etc. 'horse' (thus Mätzner, Wb.) but probably from O. E. *more* (N. H. G. *Möhre* 'an edible root'), cf. Büddecker, Altengl. Dicht. p. 375.

[3]) Viz. O. W. Scand. *fūra, fȳri* by the side of *fŭra, fŭri, Válir* by the side of *Vălir* (Noreen l. c.); the length of *fúra, fýri, Válir* is based on metrical evidence the value of which I cannot here enter upon.

[4]) Dan. dial. and rec. speech *vo(o)r* 'humour, pus' proves nothing, as *o* may be due to some dialectal development; my friend, Cand. Mag. Marius Kristensen, of Askov, Denmark, informs me, that the dialect of his native place only knows *văr*. He also calls my attention to the fact that in the East Danish dialects *a* has frequently become *å* after a *v*, which makes it probable that Dan. *vo(o)r* is due to such a development. In O. Dan. there was probably no other form than *wăr*.

to me, ought to be considered more or less problematic, especially if there be some other explanation possible, which I think is actually the case. In O. E. there was a word *wāriȝ* which Bosw.-Toller translates by 'stained with sea-weed, dirty', *wāriht*, 'algosus', cf. M. E. *wǭri* 'dirty' (of water, *e. g.* O. E. Hom. I 29, Brd. 12; of the heart, A. R. p. 386); this is apparently a by-form with *r* (< *z*) to O. E. *wāse* 'ooze, mud, slime', M. E. *wāse, wǭse* 'slime' (cf. O. E. *wāsescite* 'cuttle-fish'), in Cath. Angl. translated by 'alga', which translation renders the connection with O. E. *wār* 'sea-weed', *wāriȝ* most probable. O. E. *wāse* etc. is the same word as O. W. Scand. *veisa* 'a pool, pond of stagnant water, cess-pool', Swed. dial. *vēsa* 'mire, mud'. I feel inclined to identify M. E. *wār, wǭr* with O. E. *wār,* M. E. *wǭr* in O. E., *wāriȝ, wāriht,* M. E. *wǭri.* As for the sense-development from 'slime, dirt' into 'humour, pus' is to be compared O. H. German, O. E. *gor* 'dung, dirt', M. E. *gôre* 'mud, limus', Swed. dial. *gâr* 'dirt, the contents of the intestines, pus, purulent matter', N. E. *gore* 1) 'dirt, mud' 2) 'blood that is shed or drawn from the body, thick or clotted blood' (Cent. D.).]

[g) O. E. *cál* Ælfr. Voc. (= Wr. Voc. 136, 28: *arboracia vel lapsana, cal*), M. E. *cǭle*, Northern *cāle* (Mod. E. dial. *kale, kail,* also *cole* N. E. D., E. D.D., which latter may as well represent O. E. *cāwl*) 'cabbage', according to Pogatscher, Lautl. d. griech., lat. u. rom. Lehnw. p. 122, is from O. Scand. *kāl,* not from Lat. *caulis,* because the regular product of Lat. *au* in the Lat. loanwords in English is *ēa* or *āw* (*au*), not *ā.* Nevertheless, as other developments may have been possible, it seems safer to consider the Scand. word only as an eventual source of the English word, as does N. E. D. s. v. *cole.* Moreover, Ir. and Gael. *cál* is to be taken into consideration.]

h) M. E. *þrā, þrǭ,* adj., 'bold, severe, strong',[1]) *þrālī, þrǭly,* adj., 'bold, eager', also adv. 'eagerly', *þrā, þrǭ* sb. 'struggle, victory, mastery', possibly belonging to some of the preceding headings must be treated here separately, because the etymology of the Scand. word-stem from which the words are borrowed is not quite obvious. The Scand. words to be taken

[1]) Cf. N. E. dial. *threa* (Yorksh.) 'unwilling', Wall p. 73, 125.

in consideration are: O. W. Scand. *þrá* vb. 'to long, yearn', O. Swed. *þrā* vb. 'to long' (cf. N. Swed. (*å*)*trå* vb., *trånad* sb. 'longing, desire'), O. W. Scand. *þrá* sb. f. 'longing, desire, struggle, obstinacy', *þrá* sb. n., *þrái* sb. m. 'stubbornness, spite, refractoriness', *þrár*, adj., 'obstinate, stubborn' (also in a great number of compounds, see Fritzner, Cleasby-Vígfússon), Swed. dial. *trâe* m. 'longing, desire', *trânas(t)* 'to long, dwindle away', *trå(r)* 'industrious, persevering, longing, obstinate, faithful' etc. (Rietz, p. 756 f.), Norw. dial. *traa* sb. 'longing', vb. 'to long', adj., 'persevering, headstrong', etc. (Aasen, Ross). It is even questionable, whether these Scand. words are all from the same Teutonic root, and if not so from which of them the English words are to be derived. There are some Scand. words in similar senses which contain *ng*: Swed. *trängta* 'to long', *trängas* 'to long', *trängsen* (cf. Swed. dial. *trâssen* 'eager, longing, obstinate', Linder, Allmogemålet i södra Möre Härad. Uppsala 1867 p. 176) 'eager, longing' etc. Such words suggest the Teut. base of *þrā* 'to long', *þrār* etc. to be **þranh(u̯)*-, connected with Germ. *dringen*, O. E. *þringan*, Goth. *þreihan* etc., see Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XI p. 349 f., XIV p. 175. If this etymology be right, the English words must be from Scandinavian, because the native form would have been M. E. *þrōh*.[1]) But such forms as O. W. Scand. *þrøyja* 'to feel for, desire' (see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 428 Anm. 3, 440, 5) make it possible to assume the base of *þrár* to be **þrau̯o-*, cf. J. Schmidt, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXVI p. 7, Karsten l. c. p. 64, 73.[2]) — Also in this case the form of our words is distinctly Scandinavian. Possibly the Scandinavian words depend on the coincidence in form of two originally distinct word-roots.

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[1]) O. E. *þrōh* sb. 'rancour, invidia, odium' Erf. Gl. (*trōh* Corpus Gl.), *þrōh*, adj., (dativ *þrōgum*, *þrōn*) 'rancidus, bitter') is from such a base **þranh-* **þrąh-* (as for the sense, cf. Norw. dial. *traa*, *traaen*, 'rancid, bitter', Aasen, Karsten l. c. p. 64)? Perhaps is also O. E. *þroht* (*þrōht*?) sb., 'affliction, hardship', adj. 'grievous', which is hardly identical with O. W. Scand. *þróttr* 'strength' (thus Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 217), from the same base with a *t*-suffix (as for the sense, cf. Germ. *Drangsal*, Swed. *trångmål*).

[2]) Norw. dial. *traa* 'rancid, bitter' is in my opinion decidedly from a base containing *-anh-*, as is proved by O. E. *þrōh* 'rancidus', and not from a base **þrau̯o-*, as assumes Karsten p. 64.

[i) In this connection a few words may be mentioned which have often been considered Scandinavian, although the *ā* they contain, is no test of Scand. origin.

M. E. *ār(e)*, *ǭr(e)* 'early, sooner, before' may partly represent Scand. *ār*, partly an unrecorded non-mutated O. E. **ār* (M. E. *ār* may also partly represent O. E. *ār*, see N. E. D. s. v. *ere*). M. E. *ār(e)*, *ǭr(e)*, when depending on the Scand. word, belongs to the class of loan-words mentioned above p. 30 foot-note.

M. E. *bāþe*, *bōþe* 'both', according to Skeat, Et. D., Brate l. c. p. 33, N. E. D., Sweet, H. E. S. p. 153, 337 of Scand. origin, from O. W. Scand. *báðir* m., *báðar* f., O. Swed. *bāþir, bāþe,* Middle Dan. *baade*), may perhaps — at least in part — quite as well be derived from O. E. *bā þā,* cf. Meringer (Koch), Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXVIII p. 236 foot-note, Kluge, E. Stud. XIII p. 508, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1055, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *both.* The earliest known uses of the word in the form questioned, are Kent Gosp., Luke (Roy. MS. Á 14, Hatt. MS.) I, 7 (cf. Reimann p. 8), Sax. Chr. In the 13th century the word is frequently found even in the southern dialects. Of course, Scand. influence may have contributed to the paramountcy of the form. This is especially likely the case with regard to the use of the word as a conjunction (adv.) (as early as Chron. Laud. MS. 1137, O. E. Hom. I, 143, Orrm., Laz.), cf. O. W. Scand. *báði* conj. (also *báéði*), O. Swed. *bāþe* conj., Middle Dan. *baade* conj., see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *både,* Brate l. c. — M. E. *bēþe* (Hav.) is not easily explained as a native form and is no doubt from Scand. (cf. Meringer l. c.); *bāþre* gen. (Orrm.) is perhaps a young formation from the M. E. nom. *bāþe* (cf. Brate l. c.), although the form *báðra* occurs in O. W. Scand. (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 375) to which the M. E. form may also be referred.

M. E. *lān,* N. E. *loan* : O. Scand. *lān* (< **laihno-*); but O. E. *lǣn* (< **laihni-*).[1]) See p. 30 foot-note.

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[1]) A similar change of *ā* and *æ*, where both vowels are undoubtedly native, is to be found in O. E. *clād* and *clæd*, (cf. O. E. *clādian* and *clædan*), see Erdmann, Skrifter utgifna af Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala I, 3 p. 12f. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 932, Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 108, and others derive O. E. *clædan,* M. E. *clēden* from Scand. Kluge l. c. derives O. W. Scand. *klæði* from O. E.

M. E. *sā*, N. E. dial. *soa, soe* 'a bucket, pail' is from O. E. *sā* 'a bucket' (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., Bosw.-Toller) and not, as assumes Wall, Anglia XX p. 121, from O. W. Scand. *sár* 'a large cask', O. Swed. *sā* etc. (< **saiha-*, see Lidén, Uppsala-studier p. 81 f.). At any rate, there is no phonetic criterion of loan, as Teut. *ai* became *ā* before *h* both in Scand. and English; cf. prec. word.

O. E. *ȝeā, ia*, M. E. *ȝa, iaa, ioo* (= *yǭ*) 'yes', *ȝeatan* (= *ȝeātan*?) 'to grant, confirm, assent to', M. E. *ȝaten*,[1]) probably due to Scand. influence (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, 1021), offer no phonetic criterion of loan, as the Scand. word *jă* itself, owing to weak stress, underwent quite different development from stressed words[2]) and the same might also in part have been the case in English.[3]) In the O. E. phrase *cueðan in wið* (: *se kyng befealh ȝeorne hire brēðer oþ ðæt he quæð ia wið* 'until he said yes in reply'), Scandinavian origin is hardly to be doubted (cf. O. W. Scand. *kueða já við* 'to say yes in reply).]

5. Scandinavian *ă*.

In the Old Scandinavian languages, *ă* did not become *ă̈, e* in close syllables or before an original *e*, as was the case in English (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 49, 50, 2, 151). There are no means of ascertaining whether Scand. *a* in the positions mentioned was represented in the loan-words in O. E. by *a* or *æ*, the material of Scand. loan-words in O. E. and in the M. E. dialects in which this sound-change (*a* > *æ, e*) had taken place being so infinitesimal: in the M. E. dialects in which

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[1]) M. E. *ȝetten* (see Dictionaries) is, as Professor Morsbach points out to me, probably a by-form of *ȝēten* (*ȝæten* = W. Sax. *ȝēatan*), depending on the influence of the M. E. pret. *ȝĕtte* (W. Sax. *ȝēatte*). In O. E. it is, as a rule, difficult to decide whether the spelling *ȝea* means *ȝēa* or *ȝeā*.

[2]) As for the Scandinavian words and their explanation, see Lidén, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. III p. 235 ff., Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 38; cf. consonants, later on.

[3]) There must very early have existed doublets of the word owing to different stress: **ȝæ* > *ȝēa* (stressed), *ȝă* (weakly stressed, cf. Goth. *ja*, not **ȝē*); the latter (*ȝa*) could in its turn have been stressed again, and would then have become *ȝā* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 121).

the main parts of Scand. loan-words occur, O. E. *æ, e* (< Teut. *a*) under the circumstances mentioned, had become *a*. Moreover it may be mentioned that in the dialects in which Teut. *a* was represented by *æ, e* in close syllables and before an original *e, a* is often to be found owing to the analogy of such forms in which it was regular. *a* instead of *æ* is, therefore, not to be considered, in itself, a test of Scand. loan. Only in one case *a* instead of *æ, e* seems to point to Scand. origin: O. E. *æȝ, eȝ* (< Teut. *aγ*) became in M. E. *aȝȝ* (Orrm.) > *ai*, whereas O. E. *aȝ* > M. E. *a* + back *ȝ*(*γ*) > M. E. *aw*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 997 ff. In some words M. E. *aw*, when the corresponding native O. E. word had, or may be expected to have had, *æȝ* (*eȝ*), seems to be due to an O. E. *aȝ* from Scand. *ag* [= *aγ*].[1]) The words to be taken into consideration in this respect are:

[? M. E. *aglen* (= *aȝlen*?) 'to vacillate' (according to Stratm.-Bradley)[2]) Gen. and Ex. 3809 : O. Dan., Dan. dial. *agle* 'to swing, waver'. But *aglen* probably means *aylen* (*ailen*) > O. E. *eȝlan* (cf. N. E. D. s. v. *ail* vb.).]

M. E. *aȝune, awene, awne* Wr. Voc.[1] 155, Wr. Voc.[2] 725, 33, Pr. P. p. 18, N. E. *awn*(*s*): O. W. Scand. *ǫgn* (gen. *agnar*), O. Swed. *aghn*, Dan. *avn*(*e*); for the etymology and groundform, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Ahne*, Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *agn* f., N. E. D. I p. 597, Skeat, Et. D. s. v. *awn*, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *awn*, Svenska Akademiens Ordbok I s. v. *agn*. Scand. origin is generally assumed. The native form is O. E. *æȝnan* 'paleæ,

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[1]) O. E. *aȝ* instead of *æȝ*, possibly due to Scand. influence is to be found in O. E. *Agmund* n. pr., *Wagen* n. pr. (O. W. Scand. *vagn*, O. Swed. *vaghn* = O. E. *wæȝn*); as for the latter, see Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon. Med. and Mod. Ser. VII p. 144. But this material is too scanty to allow of any conclusions whatever. — The Scandinavian loan-words have undergone the change of *ȝ* > *w*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 936, 997. To the examples given by Kluge may be added M. E. *ardawe* 'ploughing, the quantity of land that may be ploughed in a day', see N. E. D., probably from a Scand. **ardaȝhi* (cf. Middle Dan. *ardagh* 'ploughing', Kalkar Ordbog, but also M. H. G. *artac*, also used as a measure of land); as for the question of wordformation, see Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XV p. 232, who does not, however, treat this word.

[2]) Morris, Gen. and Ex., translates the word by 'to become weak, foolish'.

quisquiliæ' (Cp. Gl.), Sweet, O. E. T. p. 478, Wr. Voc. 38, 10, 42, 33, N. E. dial. *ain* 'the awn or beard of barley or bearded wheat' (E. D. D.).

O. E. *fahnian* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 214 Anm. 2), *(ge)faz(e)nian* vb. 'to rejoice, exult, be pleased with' Ælfr. Hom. (by the side of *fæznian*, see Schwerdtfeger, Diss. Marb. 1892 —93 p. 33), Ælfred's Boethius 16, 4 etc. (*fazenode, faznast, fazenað*, all in MS. B., ab. 1110, see Sedgefield's edition, Oxf. 1894 p. 234), Kluge, E. St. VIII p. 476 (text of the 11th century), but also in the Cura Past. MS. C. 60, 17, 242, 25 (*fazenian, fazniað*, cf. Cosijn, Altwests. Gramm. p. 3 f.), Mark. (Bosw.) XIV, 11 (*fahnodon*), Luk. (Bosw.) I, 14 (*gefagniað*), Luk. I, 41 (*zefaznode*), Luk. XXII, 5 (*fazenodon*), M. E. *fag(e)n(i)an* vb. 'to rejoice, flatter', Kent. Gosp. Mk. XIV, 11, O. E. Hom. II, 135, Gen. and Ex. 1441, *fou(h)nen* Langl. P. Pl. B. XV, 295, Pr. P. p. 152, Gaw. 1919 etc., M. E. *faghning, fauning, vawenung* sb. 'fawning' A. R. 290, C. M. 12350, Spec. 23, Pr. P. 152 etc. The verb is formed from the Teut. adj.-stem represented by O. E. *(ge)fazen* adj. 'glad', Orosius 5, 3, Boeth. 25 (= Sedgefield's edition p. 57, MS. B.), Lind. Gosp. Mat. 2, 10, M. E. *fagen* Rel. I, 220, Gen. and Ex. 15, *faze* Fer. 308, *fawe(n), vawe, faun* O. E. Hom. I 199, R. Gl. 218, Hav. 2160, Ch. Cant. Tales, etc., see N. E. D. s. v. *fain* and *fawn*.[1]) In O. E., the normal forms of the adj. and vb. was *fæzen* and *fæz(e)nian* (> M. E. *fæin, fain* adj. *fæinen, fainen* vb.). O. E. *faz-*, M. E. *faz-, faw-*, N. E. *fawn* have often been supposed to depend on the influence of O. W. Scand. *fagna* 'to rejoice', O. Swed. *faghna*, Middle Dan. *fagne, favne* (cf. Skeat, Princ. I p. 277 note, Et. D. s. v. *fawn*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, 940 f., 997).[2]) Nevertheless some of the early uses of the words with an *a*-vowel are certainly native and to be explained according to Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 50 anm. 1 (owing to suffix-ablaut).[3]) In later times, Scand. influence may, of course, have contributed to the frequency of the forms with

[1]) Is M. E. *fagen* vb. 'to flatter, coax' formed from this adj. or a prehistoric base without *n* (cf. *e. g.* Goth. *fahēþs* 'joy', see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *fägna*)?

[2]) Ten Brink, Ch. Gr., assumes L. Germ. origin.

[3]) The doublets O. E. *fæzen* : *fazen*, M. E. *fain, fawen* are quite analogous to such doublets as O. E. *slæzen*, M. E. *slain* : O. E. *slazen*,

ag, aw. N. E. *fawn* is therefore, very likely, to be explained as depending on both the native and the Scand. word (cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 294).

M. E. *gaghenn* sb. 'gain, advantage' (Orrm.), also in the compound *gaghennlæs* 'profitless' (Orrm.), *gawin* sb. (see N. E. D. s. v. *gain* sb.), *gawne* vb. 'to avail, help' Townl. Myst. (E. E. T. S.) XXX, 561: O. W. Scand. *gagn,* O. Swed. *gaghn,* Dan. *gavn* sb., O. W. Scand. *gagna,* O. Swed. *gaghna* 'to avail, be useful'. M. E. *gein* sb. 'gain', N. E. *gain* sb. is probably not from O. Scand. *gagn* (thus Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v.),[1]) but either depend on the influence of the verb, M. E. *geggnenn* (Orrm.) 'to be suitable, useful; to avail' (cf. *geggnlike* adv. (Orrm.) 'conveniently'), which will be treated of later on, or are to be accounted for in conformance with N. E. D. s. v. *gain* sb.

M. E. *hagherr* Orrm., *hager, hawer* A. R., Gaw., P. S. 155 adj. 'apt, dexterous', *hagherrlike* adv. 'aptly', Orrm. *haghergegk* 'skill' Orrm.: O. W. Scand. *hagr* 'dexterous' (cf. p. 17); such words as O. E. *fæger*, M. E. *faggerr* (Orrm.) show what the regular development was in native words.

M. E. *magin* Marh. 22, 1, *magen* Kent. Gosp. Mat. XIII, 54 'power, force', perhaps from O. W. Scand. *magn* 'power, force',[2]) the regular form being O. E. *mægen,* M. E. *main,* N. E. *main.* But also here *ag* might depend on suffix-ablaut as in O. E. *fagen, fag(e)nian*; moreover influence may have been exercised by related words as M. E. *magen, mawen* pres. pl. 'may', *unmawe* 'impotent', *maht* 'might, power'.

6. Scandinavian *i.*

O. E. *silfor,* M. E. *sillferr* (Orrm.), *silver* sb. 'silver', O. E. *silfren,* M. E. *silveren* adj. 'of silver' may, to some extent (*e. g.* in the Midland dialects), be due to the influence of O. W. Scand. *silfr,* the regular forms being O. E. *siolfor, siolufr, seolfor,* M. E.

M. E. *slawen* (p. partic. of O. E. *slēan*). O. E. *fægen, fagen* is also, originally, a p. partic.

[1]) There is, as has been already pointed out, no means of ascertaining, whether O. Scand. *a* was by way of sound-substitution casually represented in loan-words by O. E. *æ.*

[2]) Stodte, Spr. u. Heimat der 'Katherine-Gruppe', Diss. Göttingen 1896 p. 50, explains *magin* Marh. 22, 1 from O. W. Scand. *magn.*

selver, depending on *u*-mutation (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 105, 2). But whether and to what extent Scand. influence has taken place in this word, cannot be ascertained without a thorough investigation into the history and extension of the *u*-mutation in the different English dialects.[1])

7. Scandinavian *ǒ*.

When in prehistoric Scandinavian a nasal consonant had been dropped after an original *u*, this *u* appears in historical Scandinavian times, as a rule, as *ǒ* (see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 83, 1). When in English a nasal consonant was dropped (see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 186, 1) and the preceding vowel was *u*, this vowel was lengthened but did not undergo the qualitative change to *ō*, occurring in Scandinavian.

O. E. *toft* sb. 'piece of ground' (see Bosw.-Toller), M. E. *toft* sb. 'toft, piece of ground, a slightly elevated, exposed site, campus' Langl. P. Pl. A. Prol. 14, I 12, Pr. P. p. 495, N. E. *toft* sb. 'a grove of trees; a place where a messuage once stood' (Law.); also in place-names: O. W. Scand. *tǒft, topt* (*tuft, tupt*) 'a piece of ground, messuage, homestead; a place marked out for a house or building', O. Swed. *tǒft, topt* (Schlyter, Ordbok till Sveriges Gamla Lagar), Dan. *toft* (Molbech, Gloss.). The Scand. word is probably, from a base **tumf(e)t-* (cognate to Greek *δάπεδον* 'floor, pavement', cf. Bugge, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXI p. 425 f.), which would have given a native O. E. **tūft*.[2])

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[1]) Concerning the extension of the O. E. *u*-mutation, see Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XVIII p. 411 ff., Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. VII p. 70, Stodte, l. c. p. 41 ff., Morsbach, Arch. C p. 281 ff. In Midland texts, M. E. *silver* is very probably due to Scand. influence. — O. Swed. *sylver* > *selver* (15th cy.) is, according to Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 108, Anm. 3, due to O. E. *sylfren* (adj.). The W. Sax. forms *sylfor, sylfren* (cf. Sievers l. c. § 105, Anm. 4), Laz. *sulfer*, are certainly not from Scand.

[2]) Another — slighty varying, but likewise acceptable — ground-form is given by Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 260, 2. — The Scand. by-form *tomt* (as for which, see Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. IX p. 142, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 245, 4, Altschwed. Gramm. § 84, 2, b, 248, 1) proves the ground-form of *tǒft* to have contained an *m*. — Scand. *tǒft, tǒpt* shows vowel-shortening before a consonant group (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 114, 4); in *topt p* depends on the Scand. sound-change of *ft* > *pt*, as

[M. E. **tǭsk* 'tusk', suggested by N. E. dial. *təsk*, see Luick, Arch. CIII p. 63, is probably to be explained according to Luick l. c. — Meanwhile, there is still another possibility to be taken into consideration. The Teut. ground-form of the word was, no doubt, **tun(þ)sko-* (< Aryan **dn̥t-sko-*). In Scand. the sound-combination *-un-* became *ō* before *s* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 83), *e. g.* Scand. *ōsk* < Teut. **wunsk-*. The word 'tusk' occurs in Scand. only in the proper name *Ratatoskr* (Noreen l. c.); in case the word existed as a simplex in prehistoric Scandinavian, its form must have been **tōsk* which might have been introduced into English and then would have given M. E. **tǭsk-*. But as there is no such simplex to be found in Scand. and as there is another explanation allowable, the explanation of the word from Scand. is very doubtful.]

O. E. *þōr*, see consonants.

8. Scandinavian *ȳ*.

Teutonic *eu* (*iu*), when it had undergone *i*-mutation, is in W.-Saxon represented by *īe*, *ȳ*, in the Anglian dialects by *īo*, *ēo*, *ē* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 100, 159, 5, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 132) and in Middle English, with the exception of those M. E. dialects, which are a direct continuation of W.-Saxon, as a rule, by *ē*. In Scandinavian, the Teutonic diphthong, when *i*-mutated, is represented by *ȳ* (cf. Noreen, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 589 = § 45, a, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 63, 14, Altschwed. Gramm. § 59, 11); the Teutonic diphthong also became *ȳ*, at least in some of the Scandinavian dialects (regularly in West Scand.), before ʀ (< *z*), by '*ʀ*-mutation' (see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 68, 7, Altschwed. Gramm. § 64, 7). When, therefore, in Anglian the vowel *ī* (< *ȳ*) is found in words from a Teutonic base containing *iu* + *i*, *i̯* or *z*, this *ī* proves Scand. origin.[1])

This will be made clear by the following examples:

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for which see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 185, 2, Altschw. Gramm. § 259, 2, which change has not yet taken place in the loan-word in English.

[1]) Non-West-Saxon *ī* instead of *ē* seems to appear in O. E. *cīken* (Bülbring, Anglia, Beiblatt IX p. 290), M. E. *chīke*, M. E. *chīse* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 991); some other cases are given by Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 165.

M. E. *līre* 'face, look, complexion, countenance, skin' MSS. of Langl. P. Pl. A. I 2, B. X 2, Gaw. 943, 2050, 2228, D. Erk. 149, MSS. in Halliwell's Dict. p. 522: O. W. Scand. *hlýr* 'cheek' (< **hliuz-*; = O. E. *hlēor* 'cheek, face', M. E. *lēre*), *ȳ* depending on R-mutation, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 68, 7.

M. E. *līðen* 'to listen' Misc. p. 137 (= Prov. of Ælfr.), Gen. and Ex., Hav., Gaw., Sev. Sages, etc. (a rather frequent word, esp. in Midland texts, see Stratm.-Bradley, Mätzner), N. E. dial. *lithe* [*laið*] 'to listen', see Wall p. 77, 111: O. W. Scand. *hlýða* 'to hearken, listen', O. Swed. *lȳþa* 'to listen, obey' (< **hliuðia-*, cf. O. W. Scand. *hlióð* 'listening, silence, sound', O. E. *hlēoþor* 'listening, sound'). No corresponding native forms are found in English.

M. E. *mīre* sb. 'mire, wet, slimy soil, deep mud' Ch., Gaw., A. P. (Knigge p. 82), Pr. P. etc., N. E. *mire* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *mýrr* f. 'moor, bog, swamp', Swed. *myr*, probably from a base **miuziō-* (cf. O. H. G. *mios*, M. H. G., N. H. G. *mies* 'moss', also a 'boggy district, moor', Grimm, O. E. *mēos* 'moss'). Some M. E. spellings in *u, ie* (cf. Dictionaries, Sweet, H. E. S., p. 336) may possibly represent the corresponding native word (< O. E. **mīere*).

M. E. *mīre, pismire* 'ant' Misc. 8, 9, Mand. 301, Ch. C. T.: O. Swed. *mȳra* < **miuriōn* (cf. L. Germ. *miere* 'ant', Grimm).

[M. E. *nīpen* 'premo, stringo', Pr. P. 357, is cognate with Dutch *nijpen* (cf. Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *knijpen, nijpen*) and has nothing to do with Swed. *nypa* (cf. Goth. *dishniupan*).]

M. E. *skīe* 'sky, cloud, nubes' Gen. and Ex., Ch., Gow., Pr. P. etc., Mod. E. *sky* : O. W. Scand. *ský* 'cloud', O. Swed. *skȳ* 'cloud' etc.[1])

M. E. *skītly* 'suddenly' Alex. (Sk.) 5040: O. Swed. *skȳter*, see consonants.

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[1]) Is the *ew* of the plural *skewes*, adj. *skewed* 'pie-bald' (see Stratm.-Bradley, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 366, cf. O. W. Scand. *skjóttr* < *skýjóttr* 'spotted, speckled'), due to the native form (O. E. *scēo* 'a cloud', according to Bosw.-Toller occurring only once and not very certain, cf. Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.), or is it only a spelling? Strictly speaking, *īe* in M. E. *skīe* is, to some extent, analogous to *īe* in M. E. *frīen* (see later on; cf. O. W. Scand. *skýja* gen. pl., *skýjum* dat. pl.) and therefore, taken by itself, hardly an absolute test.

M. E. *tīnen* 'to lose' Gen. and Ex., Hav., A. P., Langl. P. Pl. B. I 142, Perc., Min. etc., esp. in Midl. texts, N. E. dial. *tine* 'to lose, be lost' (Jamieson, Wall p. 125) : O. W. Scand. *týna* (cf. *tión* 'loss, ruin'). — Der. M. E. *tīnsel* sb. 'loss, ruin' C. M., R. Br., Hamp. etc. (cf. p. 17).

[Hardly belonging to this heading is O. E. *Tīr* (one form of the name of the runic *T*), see Bosw.-Toller, v. Grienberger, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XV p. 2, 4, 5, 15, 35[1]), Scotch *Tyr* ('in a phrase which forms the local slogan of the town of Hawick': *Tyribus ye Tyr ye Odin* 'Tyr keep us, both Tyr and Odin', Murray, Dial. South. Count. Scotl. p. 17 f.): the latter, at least, probably from O. W. Scand. *Týr(r)* (the god of war and victory, also used as the name of the runic *T*, see Wimmer, Runenschrift 143, 180) < **tieuz-*, according to Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[3] § 68, 7, who explains *ý* as depending on *R*-mutation, which is, however, hardly right, cf. Bremer, I. F. III p. 301 f., Kock, I. F. V p. 167, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *Tuesday*, who assume the ground-form **tīwo-*. The native form of the name is O. E. *Tīw, Tīȝ*.]

Because of the sound-change *ēȝ* > *ī(ȝ)* (cf. M. E. *dēȝen* > *dīen*), *ī* is no reliable test of Scand. origin in texts where such a change may have taken place, when *ȳ* in the Scand. word was followed by an *i*, and a corresponding English form with *ȝ* after the vowel (*ē*, arisen from Teutonic *eu*) may have

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[1]) According to v. Grienberger p. 15, 35, *tīr* is a later addition instead of *tī*, but it is somewhat uncertain whether it is in all instances late enough to allow the assumption of Scand. origin. v. Grienberger p. 15 identifies *tīr* (the rune), with the O. E. sb. *tīr* m. 'glory, honour', which word he considers formed with an *r*-suffix from the same root as the name of the Teutonic god in question. If identical with O. E. *tīr* 'glory, honour', the word is not borrowed from Scand. But in the O. E. Runic Poem v. 48 the word *tīr*, no doubt, signifies a star (cf. v. Grienberger p. 15), probably the planet Mars (to this Professor Morsbach calls my attention), and this speaks greatly in favour of the identification of the word with O. W. Scand. *Týr*. Also O. E. *ȳr* in the Runic Poem and in the O. E. runic alphabets may (as Prof. Morsbach points out to me) be a Scand. loan-word: O. W. Scand. *ýr* 'taxus, yew-tree, bow' (also used as the name of a rune, cf. Wimmer p. 180, Bugge, Norges Indskrifter p. 117—148); otherwise v. Grienberger p. 16 f. But this question cannot be satisfactorily solved without deep investigations into the history of the runes and a critical examination of the records, which would carry us beyond the scope of this treatise.

existed. Thus M. E. *frīen* 'to blame' Hav. 1998 [1]), if from a base **friujan* or **friuhjan* (which is very uncertain) [2]), could, although undoubtedly from O. Scand. (cf. O. W. Scand. *frýja* 'to defy, challenge, question, taunt') — as far as the form goes — be from an older native form **frēȝen*; cf. M. E. *frēlēs* 'blameless' A. P. I, 431, which, if not an error for **frīelēs* (as is suggested by Mätzner not without good reasons; cf. O. W. Scand. *frýjulaust* 'blamelessly'), is difficult to derive from Scandinavian.

9. Scandinavian *ÿ*.

M. E. *sister*, N. E. *sister* cannot be easily explained through English sound-laws (from O. E. *sweostor*, *swuster* etc.), but no difficulty arises if we assume the influence of O. W. Scand. *systir*, O. Swed. *syster* (as for the explanation of which see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 71, 7). Also the local occurrence of the form in M. E. (Gen. & Ex., Perc., C. M., Gaw., Pr. P. etc.)

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[1]) Also M. E. *frizzenn* 'to calumniate' Orrm. 16513 — which Brate, Paul and Braune's Beiträge X p. 19, 24 derives from O. E. *fricȝan* 'to ask', *zz* instead of *gg* being in his opinion from 2 and 3 sg. pres. — seems to me, because of the sense, to be rather from O. Scand. *frÿja* (cf. Mätzner s. v.). If Orrm's *frizzenn* is to be connected with Scand. *frÿja* and the latter is from a base containing *iu*, it must perhaps be borrowed from the same, because Orrm's dialect does not know the sound-change *ēȝ* > *ī*(*ȝ*) and consequently the native form would have been **frēȝenn* (but the form could perhaps be explained according to Sievers, Ags. Gram.[3] § 162, 2). It was, no doubt, pronounced **frīȝen*, cf. *drizze* (= *drīȝe*) > O. E. *drÿȝe*. The explanation of this spelling is, that O. E. *iȝ* had, when *ȝ* was palatal (cf. Brate l. c. p. 19 ff.), in Orrm's dialect already become *ī* (cf. Brate l. c. p. 21, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 996, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 184 f.), although Orrm, from several reasons, kept the old spelling. This is made probable by the spellings *sīze*, *sīze*, *sizze* (< O. E. *sīȝe*), all three denoting **sīȝe*, in which *ī* is from O. E. *iȝ* and *ȝ* is a sort of 'glide' or transitional sound (Sweet, A Primer of Phonetics 1890 p. 48 ff.), cf. *þrizzes*, *þrizes* (= *þrīȝes*), (cf. *drizcraft*, *drizmenn* < O. E. *drÿ*). I suppose that the fact that Orrm often wrote *iȝ* instead of *ī*, is to some extent accounted for by the 'glide', which always followed the vowel *ī* before another vowel, although he may have been to a great extent guided by a tradition from O. E. times. O. E. *iȝ* before an originally back vowel, on the other hand, has not become *ī* but remains as *i* + *ȝh* as is shown by the spellings *hizhenn* 'to hasten', *nizhenn* 'nine'.

[2]) I have not been able to find any words in the Teutonic languages which could throw light upon the Scandinavian word.

points in the same direction. I therefore see no reason for doubting Scand. origin, which is also accepted by most scholars; thus *e. g.* Zupitza, Anz. f. d. Altert. II p. 15, Skeat, Et. D., Morsbach, Schriftspr. p. 65, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et., Luick, Arch. CII p. 73.

10. Some remarks concerning the quantity of the vowels as a criterion of Scand. loan-words.

In his treatise in Paul and Braune's Beiträge X, Brate rejects the Scand. origin of some words (in the Orrmulum) which contained a long vowel (from Teutonic short vowel) before a consonant group which in English usually caused the lengthening of the preceding vowel, and he considered these words to be native English words because of their having taken part in the English vowel-lengthening before certain consonant groups. He likewise considered some words containing a short vowel before a consonant group usually causing the lengthening of the preceding vowel, to depend on Scand. influence. Meanwhile Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 69 ff., has made it probable that the Scand. loan-words took part — to a certain extent — in the English lengthening process, and that a long vowel before one of the consonant groups in question is no proof of native origin. The same view is held by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1024 f. To the examples given by Morsbach and Kluge to prove the correctness of their opinion may be added M. E. *oonde* 'breath, anhelitus', *ondin* 'to breathe' Pr. P. p. 50, 364, *aande* Alex. (Sk.), see Skeat's Glossary. On the other hand, it is doubtful to what extent short vowels before the consonant groups in question are to be explained through Scand. influence, as it seems possible, as a rule, to account for them by English sound-laws and as the full extent and the conditions of the English vowel-lengthening are not yet sufficiently settled. Nevertheless there is no denying the possibility of Scandinavian influence as the ultimate cause, in some instances, of the shortness in the case of such dialects as Orrm's, which are the result of such an intimate blending of Scandinavian and English elements. But it would not be possible to point out any single word, in which a short vowel, instead of an expected lengthened one, is definitely to be regarded as a loan-word test.

B. Tests chiefly depending on differences as to the development of consonants in English and in Scandinavian.

1. Scandinavian *sk*.

a) Initially.

O. E. initial *sc-* (as well as *-sc-*, *-sc*, as for which see next heading) appears in M. E. as a simple sound (*š*); this sound-change took place already in O. E. times, but how early is not quite settled, as we have few other proofs of this pronunciation than the M. E. spellings *sh*, *sch* (*ss*, *s* in the South, esp. Kent, which seems to have expressed the same sound), cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 192f., Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 993 ff. When, therefore, *sk-* appears in M. E., it must be due to foreign influence: from Celtic, Latin (in Latin words of earlier introduction O. E. *sc-* has become *š*, see Kluge l. c. p. 994), Romance languages, Scandinavian, and in a few cases, esp. in later times, from German. The main part of M. E. *sk-* is undoubtedly due to Scand. influence. I will not enter here on the very numerous words in *sc*, *sk* in N. E., not recorded in M. E., and many of them introduced in later times or due to some influence of analogy; my material will be chiefly taken from M. E. Some words, the origin of which is more or less obscure, will be given within brackets. As will be seen, there are some M. E. words in *sc*, *sk* — apparently Teutonic — which cannot be directly derived from Scandinavian.[1]) Although it is not easy to prove anything of the kind for any special word, I think some of these words are to be explained according to the principles laid down p. 10.[2])

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[1]) Attention may be called to the dialect words given by Murray, D. S. Count. Scotl. p. 122, which contain *sk* corresponding to the *sh* of the rec. language.

[2]) Some analogies are offered by the treatment of loan-words from Swed. rec. speech in the Swed. dialect of Vätö, see Schagerström, Svenska Landsmålen II, 4 p. 34. In Swedish rec. speech, Teut. *sk* before front vowels has become a sort of *š*- sound; in the Swed. dial. in question it has become *s* + front *k* or *kj*. But in words, which in Swedish are pronounced with *š* and which have been introduced from rec. sp. into the dialect, this sound is in the dial. superseded by *sk(j)*, even when the Swed. *š*- sound is from quite another source than O. Swed. *sk*.

As has been already pointed out, the spelling in O. E. gives no guide to the discrimination of Scand. loan-words of this class from native ones, both being generally written with *sc,* which in late O. E. undoubtedly, as a rule, denoted an *š*-sound, as is proved by the spelling *scæ* 'she' in the Peterb. Chron. (Sweet, H. E. S. p. 192), but also may have denoted *sk* in Scand. loan-words. The O. E. spelling is kept in several M. E. manuscripts; in these the spelling *sc* offers no means of distinguishing native words from loan-words; only spellings with *sk,* which occasionally occur, allow of a conclusion. Thus in the texts of Laȝamon *sc* is the usual spelling for *š* and consequently is no test of loan. The only word in Laȝ., containing a Teutonic *sk-,* and which therefore can be demonstrated to be a Scand. loan-word by the test of spelling, is *skent(t)ing,* Laȝ. A-text v. 19167, 30625. Likewise in Vices and Virtues, ed. Holthausen (E. E. T. S.), *š* is denoted by *sc.* In the MS. Cott. of Cursor Mundi, *sc* is used most frequently as the sign of *š,* as is also shown by the spelling *sco* (= *scho* 'she') MS. Cott. v. 75, 619 etc. But also here *sk* is a reliable criterion of Scand. loan, a glance at the Glossary showing us that *sk* is only written in words, which are proved by other evidence (esp. by other M. E. texts) to have been always or frequently pronounced with *sk* (not *š*).

I now proceed to give a list of Scandinavian loan-words proved to be so by the spelling *sk, sc.* In many instances, it will, however, not be possible to decide whether the word is to be considered a loan-word or a native word influenced by Scand. (cf. p. 13 foot-note 2).

[M. E. *scabbe* sb. 'scab, sore, scabies' Pr. P. p. 442, Wicl., Ch. C. T. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley, *scabbed* Hav., Langl. P. Pl., N. E. *scab. sc* may be due to the influence of Lat. *scabies* (it is worthy of note that this is the word given as the Latin translation of *scabbe* by Pr. P.), which may also be the source of O. E. *sceabb,* M. E. *shabbe,* N. E. *shab, shabby,* O. Swed. *skabber* (cf. O. Swed. *scabberosor* 'scabiosa arvensis'),[1]) Dan. *skab,*

[1]) The word is not found in O. W. Scand.; this fact is perhaps to be explained by regarding the O. Swed. word as a loan-word of rather late introduction.

M. L. G. *schabbich,* M. H. G. *schębic* 'scabby', although it is also possible to consider the word — entirely or partly — as genuine Teutonic, cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *schaben, schäbig,* Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *schabberig,* Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. *Skab* (*paa Hud*). It ought to be taken into account that in mediæval as well as in later times, the names of diseases and other medical terms were, to a great extent, taken from Latin or liable to Latin influence (cf. *scurf* later on); in Mod. English times the Latin word has been reimported once again: N. E. *scabies, scabious.* Furthermore, it is to be noticed that in the two doublets *scab* and *shab,* the medical signification is much more perceptible in the former than in the latter; especially noteworthy are the deriv. *shabby, shabbiness* where it is now completely lost.]

[M. E. *scadde* 'cadaver', Pr. P. p. 442 (cf. Halliwell: *scad* 'a carcass, a dead body') is perhaps from p. partic. (O. W. Scand. *skaddr,* O. E. Scand. *skadder*) of O. W. Scand. *skeðja,* O. E. Scand. *skaða* 'to hurt, harm'; for the meaning of M. E. *scadde,* compare Norw. dial. *skad* 'a domestic animal, killed by a beast of prey or by an accident' (Ross, Norsk Ordbog), O. W. Scand. *scaði* m. 'death'.]

[M. E. *scailen*?; cf. p. 59, 123.

M. E. *scāld* sb. 'poet', see p. 96.

[M. E. *scalden* vb. 'to scald' is of Romance introduction rather than from O. Swed. *skālda* (cf. N. Icel. *skálda*), which is itself a loan-word. Cf. Behrens l. c. p. 179.]

M. E. *scāle* sb. 'shanty' (also *schale,* which, although probably an error, may perhaps be explained according to the principles pointed out p. 10), N. E. *scale* dial. 'a hut', see p. 93.

M. E. *scăle, scǭle* sb. 'bowl, lanx', N. E. *scale.* se p. 92 f.

[M. E. *scale,* N. E. *scale* sb. 'shell', see p. 93.]

[M. E. *scalk* 'scalp' Hamp. Ps., may be from some Scand. word of the groups treated by Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 151, Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 65 f., but I do not know any quite corresponding word in the Scandinavian languages.]

[M. E. *scalle, scale* sb. 'a scaly eruption of the skin, scab, scurf, scabbiness' Wr. Voc. 626, 34, Ch., Wicl., Ayenb. etc., M. E. *scalled* 'scabby', N. E. *scall,* is, most likely, from O. Scand. *skal* 'shell' (cf. M. E. *scaled browes* in some MSS. of Ch. Prol. v. 627,

where other MSS. have *scalled*), see Cent. Dict. s. v. The Latin translation of the word *scalle* (*scale*) is in Wr. Voc. 586,33, 675,33 (*scale*), 707,32, 790,33, 'glabra' (cf. ib. 626,34: *scrofe or scalle* : *glabra*); in Wr. Voc. 679,17 *skale* is translated by 'scabia'. Cf. Danish *huden skalles* 'the skin falls off like scales'. As for the sound-development, cf. N. E. *small*; cf. also M. E. *scalle* 's(q)uama' Wr. Voc. 703,41. If N. E. *scale* (of a fish) ('squama' Wr. Voc. 613,15, 765,22) is from the same source (cf p. 93), N. E. *scall* and *scale* are doublets, the first from the M. E. uninflected, the latter from M. E. inflected forms. But the source of M. E. *scalle*, N. E. *scall* may possibly be some other Scand. word belonging to the groups of words (in my opinion, partly still obscure as to their relationship to each other) treated by Zupitza l. c. and Noreen l. c. It cannot be identical with Swed. dial. *skål* 'a skin disease', and is not from O. Scand. *skalle* 'a head, bald head'.]

[N. E. *scalp* sb. 'the top of the head' is perhaps related to M. E. *scalk* (see above) and to O. Scand. *skalle* 'a head', but there is no evidence concerning its origin.[1])]

M. E. *scant* adj. 'parcus' Pr. P. 442, adv. 'scarcely' Mir. Pl. 78, MS. of Barb. Br. XX, 434, 'scantily' Pall. Husb. (E. E. T. S.) p. 140, *scantnesse* 'scantity' Ch. C. T.: O. W. Scand. *skammt*, O. Swed. *skampt* neutr. and adv., from the adj. O. W. Scand. *skammr*, O. Swed. *skamber* 'short'. Cf. Skeat, Et. D., Cent. D. and above p. 19.

M. E. (*pot-*)*scarth* 'pot-sherd' MS. of Hamp. Ps. XXI,15: O. Swed. *skarþer* 'shiver, splinter' (O. W. Scand. *skarð* means 'notch, chink, an empty, open place' and is not the source of our word). The genuine English form is O. E. *sceard*, M. E. *scherd* 'schred, fragment'; as for related words in other Teutonic languages, see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *scharte*, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *schaard*.

M. E. *skate* 'skate' (the fish) Pr. P., Cath. Angl., N. E. *skate* (is *schate* Wr. Voc. 764,39, the genuine English form or an 'Anglicised' form of the Scand. word, [cf. p. 10]?): O. W. Scand. *skata*, Dan. dial. *ska*, see Dial. Prov. p. 10, Arch. CIII p. 349.

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[1]) What is the origin of O. It. *scalpo* 'a scalp'?

[M. E. *scateren* (by the side of *schateren*) has been held to depend on Dutch influence, cf. Erdmann, Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapets Förhandlingar 1882—85 p. 146, Kluge-Lutz E. Et. s. v. *scatter*. Another possibility has been pointed out p. 10. It is perhaps also to be taken into account that there were several words in M. E. beginning with *sc-*, *sk-*, *sch-* and with the sense of 'to scatter' or something similar, and that they may have had some influence on each other so that *sc, sk* may have been introduced into words which had originally *sch* and vice versa: M. E. *scailen*, *schailen* 'to disperse, break up', (*to*) *scateren*, (*to*)*schateren*, M. E. *skilien*, *skilen*, *schilien* 'segrego, divide', M. E. *skerren* 'to scare', *toskeȝȝrenn* 'to scatter' (Orrm.), *toschǣden* 'separate' etc.]

M. E. *scathe*, *skathe* etc. sb. 'injury, wound, loss, odium, enemy', *e. g.* Gen. and Ex. (Laȝ., but see p. 120), Hav., A. P., Gaw. etc.; der. *scathe-dede*, *unnscaþefull*, *scathe-lȩs* etc. (see Dictionaries); *skaþenn*, *scaþen* vb. 'to harm, wound', Orrm., Pr. P. etc., *scaþel* adj. 'harmful, noxious', A. P., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc. (loan-words of this stem occur for the first time in the Orrmulum and then very frequently in Midland and Northern texts), N. E. *scathe*: O. W. Scand. *skaði* sb. 'harm, damage', O. Swed. *skaþi*, sb. 'harm, damage', *skaþa* vb. 'to harm, injure' etc. Of native origin are O. E. *scaða* 'one who does harm, criminal, wretch', M. E. *unnshaþiȝ* 'innocent', etc.

M. E. **skauten* vb. 'to push, dart violently', see p. 72.

N. E. dial. *skeel* 'a milking-pail': O. W. Skand. *skióla*, Swed. dial. (Rietz) *skjula*; cf. Wall p. 119.

[M. E. *skey* adj., 'umbraticus' (*schey or skey as horse* Pr. P.), N. E. dial. *skey* 'to shy, shun' (Halliwell, Flügel etc.) may be a contamination of M. E. *schey* (< O. E. *scēoh*) and some Scandinavian word of the corresponding group. But as the word-group — as it appears in literary Scandinavian — seems not to be of native origin (O. Swed. *sky* vb. 'to shun', Swed. *skygg* adj. 'shy' seem to be from M. L. Germ. *schüwen* vb., *schügge* adj.), it is possible that *sk* is to be explained in conformity with the points of view explicated on p. 10. Does M. E. *askie* 'shyly (?)', Gow. Conf. II 50, contain the same word (cf. N. E. D.)?]

O. E. *scæȝð*, *sceȝð* etc., by other reasons proved to be from Scand., see p. 38.

[M. E. *(to)skeggrenn* vb. 'to scatter', see p. 59. Egge, Mod. Lang. Notes I p. 65, thinks the word connected with O. E. *tō-scierian* 'to divide, separate'. Is there any relationship between *(to)skeggrenn* and It. *sciarrare* 'zersprengen, zerstreuen', *sciarra* 'Schlägerei' (Diez, Et. Wb.)?]

N. E. dial. *skelly* 'to squint' (Wall p. 134) : O. W. Scand. *skialgr* 'squinting', *skelgia* 'to make to squint', O. Swed. *skiælgher* 'squinting'. Wall's explanation of the word is erroneous.

M. E. *skelle* sb. 'shell' York Pl. II 65, Man. (F.) 14683, N. E. dial. *skell,* Halliw. : O. W. Scand. *skel* 'shell'. The native form *schelle* is the more frequent one.

M. E. (**skellen*), *skillen* vb. 'to make a harsh noise' Oct. (W.) 326, N. E. dial. *skell* 'to squall', Wall p. 119: O. W. Scand. *skella* 'to make a slam, clash', O. Swed. *skælla* 'to clash'.

[M. E. *skelp* sb. 'blow, stroke' York Pl. XXXIII 35, *skelpen* 'to beat, flog' Alex. (Sk.) 1924, York Pl. XXVI,81, N. E. dial. *skelp* 'to beat' Wright, Windh. p. 96; perhaps from Scandinavian, but no corresp. Scand. word is found; O. W. Scand. *skelpa* 'a wry face' does not suit the sense of the English word.]

[M. E. *skelten, skelting*?, see Stratm.-Bradley.]

[M. E. *skemering, skimering* 'shining, brightness' York Pl. XVII 123, may be from Dutch; Swed. *skimmer, skimra* are from German.]

M. E. *skenten* vb. 'to amuse, delight' O. and N., *skemmtinng* sb., Orrm., *skempting* Rel. I 218, *skent(t)ing* Laz., O. and N.: O. W. Scand. *skemta*, O. Swed. *skæmpta* 'to amuse, entertain'.

M. E. *skep(pe)* sb. 'skep, carrying-basket' Pall. III 209, Pr. P. 457, N. E. *skep*: O. W. Scand. *skeppa*, O. Swed. *skæppa* 'a measure, bushel.'

M. E. *sker(re)*, *skar(re)* sb. 'projecting rock' Wicl., Alex. (Sk.), Halliw., N. E. (dial.) *skerry, scar, skeer* Wall p. 117, 119: O. W. Scand. *sker* 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea', O. Swed. *skær*, Dan. *skjær*. The N. E. form *skerry* may be from the Scand. cases in *i* (gen. pl. *skerja*, dat. *skerjum*).

M. E. *sker(re)*, *skar(re)* adj. 'scare, timid' MS. of A. R. 242, Townl. M. 198, N. E. dial. *skarry, skair,* 'easily scared or frightened', Wall p. 117, 119, M. E. *skerren, skarren* vb. 'to scare' Orrm., Pr. P., A. P., Alex. (Sk.), D. Troy, etc., N. E. *scare*: O. W. Scand. *skjarr* 'shy, timid', Swed. dial. *skärr* 'to frighten' (Lind-

gren, Svenska Landsm. XII 1 p. 53); M. E. *a-scürren* 'to scare' drive away', A. R. 296, is from O. Scand. *skirra* 'to frighten, (Fritzner, Ordb.), a verb formed from the adj. in the regular way. — With regard to the sound-development in M. E. *skerr* > N. E. *scare* (also in the dialects, see Wall p. 117, 119, Murray D. S. C., Scotl. p. 145, Ellis, E. E. P. V p. 313, 397, 529, 634, 742 etc.) is to be compared N. E. *chare* (by the side of *char*; also in N. E. — 17th and 18th cy. — *charewoman chairwoman*, now *charwoman*) sb. 'turn, esp. an occasional turn of work, etc.' < *čierr, čerr*, N. E. *chare* vb. 'to turn, to do odd turns of jobs' < O. E. *čierran, čerran*, see N. E. D. — M. E. *skerel, scarle* 'larva', Pr. P., Cath. Angl., may contain the same Scand. word-stem.

M. E. *skēr(e)* 'clear, pure' A. R., Gaw. (rime-word *chēre* Knigge, p. 81), Misc. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley), M. E. *skēren* 'to purify' A. R., Rob. Gl. (rime-word *copenere* Papst p. 31), O. and N. etc. N. E. dial. *skeer* (Wall p. 134): O. W. Scand. *skærr*, O. Swed. *skær* 'pure, clear, bright', O. Swed. *skæra* 'to make pure, clear, bright, to clean, purify'. *sh* in M. E. *shēre*, N. E. *sheer* may depend on an O. E. **scēre* (< **skairi-*) or on the influence of O. E. *scīr*, M. E. *schīre*, cf. M. E. *skīre*. Of course, there is, also here, a third, although not very probable possibility: M. E. *schēre*, esp. in *schēre þursday* 'Maundy Thursday',[1]) could depend on an early 'Anglicised' or 'translation' form (cf. p. 10 f.) of O. Scand. *skær-*, O. Swed. *skæra þorsdagher, skærþorsdagher*, Dan. *skjærtorsdag* (: O. W. Scand. *skíriþórsdagr*). The O. E. expression was *se þunresdæg tōforan ēastran* or *ær ēastran*; *schēre þursday* does not occur till M. E. times. It may be noticed that the form *þursday*, itself, depends on Scand. influence. In M. E. times *schēre* in *schēre þursday* was misunderstood and identified with the vb. *schēren* 'to shear', see Taranger, Ags. Kirke, p. 369. But nothing can be, with any amount of certainty, proved about this word in this or any other direction, and Taranger's supposition l. c., that the Scand. *skíriþórsdagr* is from English instead, cannot be positively confuted.

M. E. *skēt(e)* adj. 'quick', adv. 'quickly, soon' Orrm., Hav.,

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[1]) Not 'Holy Thursday', as translate Stratm.-Bradley, see Taranger, Ags. Kirke, p. 369 f.

Oct., Townl. M. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: O. W. Scand. *skiótr* adj. 'quick', *skiótt* adv. 'quickly,' O. Swed. *skiūter*; M. E. *skītly* 'suddenly' Alex. (Sk.) 5040: O. Swed. *skȳter* (Söderwall), by-form to *skiuter*, possibly depending on *i*-mutation (see Kock, Svenska Landsmålen II 12 p. 5, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 353 Anm. 1).[1]) — O. E. *scēot*, Ben. R., is probably from Scandinavian,[2]) no M. E. forms in *sch-*, *sh-* having been found. Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., also gives an O. E. *ȝescēot* 'quick, ready', but I cannot find it in the O. E. literature.

[M. E. *skewed* 'pie-bald', see p. 115 foot-note.]

M. E. *skīe* 'sky', see p. 115.

M. E. *skifft* sb. 'shift, trick' York Pl. XXVI 130, *skiften* vb. 'to change, move away, assign, divide' Amad. (Wb.) 656, A. P. II 709, Gaw. 19: O. W. Scand. *skipta* 'to change', O. Swed. *skipta*, 'to change, distribute'.[3]) O. E. *sciftan*, *tōskiftan* vb. 'to divide, separate, appoint, ordain', (according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 from Scand.), M. E. *shifftenn*, Orrm, N. E. *shift*, may — as far as the form goes — quite as well be of native origin (cf. Skeat, Et. D., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *shift*), although it may also be an 'Anglicised' form of the Scand. word (thus Sweet, H. E. S. p. 193, 300, cf. above p. 10); the latter view is rendered likely by the local distribution of the word in Old and Middle English. It does not seem to occur before the Scandinavian invasion.

[M. E. *skig* 'timid, careful' A. P. II 21: Swed. *skygg* 'timid', see p. 123.]

M. E. *skil(l)* sb. 'skill, distinction, discrimination, reason, excuse, knowledge, understanding' Orrm., A. R., O. and N. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: O. W. Scand. *skil* 'discernment etc.', O. Swed. *skil* 'discernment, knowledge, reason'. The (Kent.) by-form *skel* 'reason, discretion' Ayenb., Shoreh, is from a Scand. form, represented by O. Swed. *skiæl* 'discernment, discretion, knowledge, reason etc.' (Söderwall's Ordbok), O. Dan. *skiæl* (s. Jessen,

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[1]) Other explanations are given by Kock, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XI p. 324, Karsten, Studier öfver de Nord. Språkens primära Nominalbildning Helsingfors, 1895 p. 110, Kock, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXIII p. 536 and foot-note; cf. also Noreen, Aschwed. Gramm. § 99 Anm.

[2]) Cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934.

[3]) As for *pt*<*ft*, cf. O. E. *toft*.

Et. Ordb. s. v. *Skjel*). — Der. M. E. *skilenn* vb. 'to divide, separate' Orrm. 16860, O. E. Hom. II, 119, *skil-lǣs* adj. 'ignorant' Orrm. 3715, *unnskill* 'indiscretion' Orrm. 827. The ambiguous late O. E. *scilian* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934), if pronounced with *š*, as well as M. E. *schil* sb., *schillen* vb. may be of native origin, but may also — like the preceding word — depend on an 'Anglicised' O. E. pronunciation of the Scand. word.

N. E. *skim* 'to take off scum', see Skeat, Princ. I p. 465, Et. D. No Scand. **skȳma*, **skymma* is found. Perhaps the form has arisen on English ground through 'analogical' or 'functional' *i*-mutation; for other such cases see Dial. Prov. p. 19 ff.

O. E. *scin(n)* 'skin, fur' — also *n(n)* is distinctively Scandinavian, see further on — M. E. *skin(n)* Ch., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc., deriv. *skinnere* etc.: O. W. Scand. *skinn*, O. Swed. *skin*. M. E. *schynnere* Wr. Voc. 650, 36 may denote an 'Anglicised' pronunciation of Scand. *sk*.

M. E. *skinden* 'to hasten' Gen. and Ex. 1989: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skynda*. The native O. E. *scyndan* occurs before the Scandinavian invasion.

[M. E. *skippen* vb. 'to skip' MSS. of C. M. 19080, Cott. MS. of C. M. 23569, Ch., Pr. P. etc., (see Stratm.-Bradley), *overskippen* Ch., Pr. P. etc., *skip* sb. 'hop, jump' Pr. P., *skippere* sb. 'saltator' Gen. and Ex. 3087, Pr. P., N. E. *skip* vb. — MS. Gött. of C. M. 19080 has *scope* (Cott. has here *skep*; MS. Gött. of C. M. 23569 has *schope*, MS. Trinity ib. *scoupe*, Fairf. ib. *lepe*); *scope* is, most certainly, from O. W. Scand., Norw. dial. *skopa* 'to run, skip', O. Swed., Swed. dial. *skopa* 'to hop, frisk, jump', O. Dan. *skobe* 'to hop, dance' (Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. II p. 110), and this makes the Scand. origin of *to skip* very probable. But no quite corresponding word is found in Scandinavian, a fact which may, nevertheless, be judged in the same way as N. E. *skim* above.[1]) N. E. *to skip* is generally considered to be of Celtic origin.]

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[1]) O. Swed. *skuppa, skoppa* 'to skip, jump' (Söderwall) need not be from *skumpa*, but may in part contain original *pp* and be cognate with M. H. G. *schupfen* 'to swing', O. H. G. *scupfa* 'balancing board' Dutch *schop* sb., *schoppen* vb. (see Franck, Et. Wb. p. 858). This word is connected with O. E. *scūfan* 'to push', Goth. *skiufan*, Dutch *schuiven* etc. (see Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 154, Franck l. c.), and *pp* depends on the

[O. E. *scipian* vb., 'to equip or man', Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, is ambiguous.]

M. E. *skīr(e)* adj. 'clean, pure' Orrm. (Brate p. 57), A. P. II 1776 (Knigge p. 65): O. W. Scand. *skírr*, O. Swed. *skīr*. O. E. *scīr* has given M. E. *schīre*; cf. M. E. *skēr(e)* above.

[M. E. *skirmen* vb. 'to scream' Alex. (Sk.) 5157. Origin unknown.]

[M. E. *skirmen* vb. 'to fence' A. R. 212, Hav. 2323, etc., is from some Romance language,[1]) hardly from German. O. Swed. *skirma* 'to fence, fight' is from L. German.]

M. E. *skirrpenn* 'to spit out, reject' Orrm. 7389, O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skirpa* 'to spit out.'

M. E. *skirte* sb. 'skirt', 'gremium', Gaw. 601, 865, Wr. Voc. 655, 8, Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *skyrta*, O. Swed. *skiurta* 'shirt'. M. E. *shirte* is from O. E. *scyrte* (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.).

M. E. *skitte* 'excrements' Pr. P. 458, N. E. dial. *skit*, Halliw. : O. W. Scand. *skíta* vb. 'cacare', *skítr* sb. 'stercus', O. Swed. *skīta* vb. 'cacare'. Of native origin is M. E. *schīten* 'cacare'. *-ĭtt-* instead of *-īt-* may depend on the contamination of the Scand. word and O. E. *scitta* 'diarrhœa' or on Scand. words in *-ĭt-*.

[M. E. *scof* sb. 'scoff'?]

M. E. *scogh* sb. 'wood' C. M. 15826, Ant. Arth. V, Alex. (Sk.)

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well-known Teutonic assimilation of lip consonants + *n*. In words of this type, we often find *p*, *pp*, *b* (O. E., O. W. Scand. *f*), *bb*, see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna, Upsala Universitets Årskrift 1897, p. 111 ff., 120 ff. Scand. *skopa* therefore, very likely belongs to the same root as O. E. *scūfan* etc. *bb* we find in Swed., Norw. dial. *skubba* 'to rub', in Swed. dial. also 'to run, hasten' (cf. Swed. *gnida* 'to rub' = Swed. dial. *gni* 'to run', N. E. *scour* 'to clean by rubbing, to rub clean or bright', but also 'to scamper, to run with speed'), which latter sense speaks in favour of my explanation of O. Swed. *skuppa*, *skoppa*, O. W. Scand., O. East Scand. *skopa*. An O. Scand. **skyppa* by the side of *skoppa* would be quite as natural as M. H. G. *hüpfen*, M. E. *hüppen* 'to bound, jump' by the side of O. E. *hoppian* 'to leap, dance', M. E. *hoppen* 'to hop, jump', M. H. G. *hoppen* 'to jump' etc., and a corresponding West Teut. form is actually to be found in M. H. G. *schüpfen* 'to swing', N. West. Flem. *schippen* (see Franck l. c.).

[1]) Probably from O. French, cf. Behrens, Beiträge zur Gesch. d. frz. Sprache in England p. 46, 182. Cf. also It. *schermire* 'to fence' from German (see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *schirmen*). The form *schirme* O. and N. 306 is to be compared with M. E. *schurge* etc., as for which see Behrens l. c. p. 202.

3915, 5157: O. W. Scand. *skógr*, O. Swed. *skōgher*, O. Dan. *skōgh* 'wood'.

[M. E. *scolde* sb. 'scold, blamer', *scolden* vb. 'to scold, blame, reprimand'. It is perhaps to be judged on the principles suggested p. 10.]

M. E. *scolle*, see *sculle*.

[M. E. *scōne* 'beautiful' see p. 77 f.]

M. E. *scope* 'to skip', see above.

[M. E. *scōpe* sb. 'scoop, alveolus' Pr. P. 450, Man. (F.) 8168, N. E. *scoop*, M. E. *scōpen* vb. 'to lade out water' A. P. III 156, Man. (F.) 8164: O. Swed. *skōpa*, N. Swed. *skopa* sb. 'a scoop', cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 458, Et. D. But O. Swed. *skōpa* seems to be from L. Germ. *schope*; cf. Flemish *schoepe* (Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *schop* [*spade*]), O. H. G. *schuof*, French *escope, écope*.]

M. E. *score* sb. 'notch, number, score, twenty' Langl. P. Pl B. X 180, Arth. and Merl. 3109, Pr. P. 450 etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley), M. E. *scoren* vb. 'to score' Pr. P. etc., N. E. *score* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *skor* sb. 'notch', *skora* vb., O. Swed. *skora* sb. — M. E. forms with *sch-*, *sh-* are probably from corresponding native O. E. words[1]) or depend on the influence of the verb O. E. *scieran*, past partic. *scoren*, M.E. *shêren*, past partic. *shoren*.

[M. E. *scoren* 'to thrust'(?), Stratm.-Bradley. Sense and origin uncertain.]

M. E. *scorrcnenn* Orrm. 1474 (: *swā summ itt wǣre scorrcnedd lāf þatt iss wiþþūtenn crummess*), 8626 (: *forr þatt tē lánd wass drizzedd all annd scorrcnedd þurrh þē druhhþe*) has been translated by some scholars 'to scorch' and derived from French (thus White-Holt, Gloss. to the Orrmulum, Behrens, Beitr. p. 46, 202, Kluge, Engl. Stud. XXII p. 181). Others translate it by 'to crack, furrow' or 'to dry up' and derive it from Scand. (O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skorpna* 'to shrink, shrivel', O. W. Scand. *skorpinn*, *skorpnaðr* 'shrivelled'; thus Stratmann, Engl. Stud. VI p. 442, Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 19); as for the supposed sound-change $p > k$ in this position,

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[1]) Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 gives an O. E. *scor*, which in his view is a Scand. loan-word, but I have not been able to find any O. E. use of the word.

Stratmann l. c. and Stratm.-Bradley s. v. compare M. E. *drūknen* < O. Scand. *drūpna* (see later on), and Zupitza l. c. gives some parallel cases from several languages, among others Swed. dial. *skorky* < *skorpna*. In my view, the suffix *n* in *scorrcnedd* speaks for Scand. origin, cf. p. 14 f.[1]) Halliwell gives a N. E. dial. (Lincsh.) *scarped* 'dried up or parched, as when in fever the skin becomes dry and hard, it is said to be *scarped*', which is evidently the Scand. word (cf. Wall p. 117), and the same sense 'dried up' seems to suit the translation of M. E. *scorrcnedd* in the two passages quoted from the Orrmulum.

M. E. *scot* sb. 'scot, tribute, payment' R. Gl., Ayenb. etc., M. E. *scotten* vb. 'to pay scot' A. R. (O. E. *scot* 'tribute', *sāwolgescot* 'payment to church on death of person', Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., Erdmann, Språkvetensk. Sällsk. Förh. 1882-85 p. 146 f., Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934, is ambiguous as far as the pronunciation of *sc* is concerned): O. W. Scand. *skot*, O. Swed. *skot* 'tribute' (see Fritzner, Ordbog III p. 372). As for the history of the word in English, reference may be made to Fry, Trans. Philol. Soc. 1867 p. 167 ff. — M. E. and N. E. forms with *sch-*, *sh-* either depend on a native O. E. *scot* 'shot' or on forms of the verb O. E. *scēotan*, M. E. *shēten*.

[In (O. E. *Scottas*), M. E. *Scottes*, *Scotland*, N. E. *Scotland* etc. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 994, considers *sc* to depend on Scand. influence. I prefer to assume learned (Latin) influence (cf. Ackermann, Dissert. Göttingen 1898 p. 52) — very frequent in such words, cf. *e. g.* German *Thüringen*.]

M. E. *scragen* adj. 'scraggy' MS. of A. R. p. 4, N. E. *scrag*, *scragged*, *scraggy*: Swed. dial. *skragg* sb. 'something haggard, old or torn', *skragget* adj. 'old and torn, lean' (Magnusson, Svenska Landsmålen II, 2 p. 63), *skragger* sb. 'one who cannot walk without difficulty, weak old man' (Rietz), Norw. dial. *skragg* sb. 'a shrivelled, wretched person; a lean horse', *skraggen* adj. (Ross). The etymology given by Skeat, Et. D., is erroneous. There is also a M. E. *schragge* 'scrag, jagged end' D. Arth. 3473.

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[1]) M. E. *scorclen* 'ustulo' in which *l* may depend on the M. E. change of *l*- and *n*-suffix, appearing also in other words (cf. Stratm.-Bradley s. v.), reminds one, as far as the sense is concerned, more of the French word.

M. E. *scrapen* vb. A. P. II 1546, H. S., Pr. P., Pall. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley), N. E. *to scrape*: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *skrapa* 'to scrape'. But also O. French *escraper* 'to scratch off' (Mackel p. 47). M. E. *schrapen*, *shrapen* is from O. E.

M. E. *skratt*, *scrate* sb. 'wizard, monster, hermaphrodite, Wr. Voc. 695,2, 793,31, N. E. (dial.) *scrat* (Wall p. 117): O. W. Scand. *skratti* 'wizard', O. Swed. *skratte* 'brownie', Swed. dial. *skrate, skratte* 'ghost, brownie' (Rietz).

[M. E. *scratten* 'to scratch' Pr. C., Pr. P., C. M. MS. Fairf. 11823, MS. of A. R. Origin obscure.]

[M. E. *screde* 'presegmen, shred' Wr. Voc. 655,11, M. Sc. *skreid* Dougl. (see Gerken p. 57).]

In the M. E. forms *skriken, skrichen,* N. E. *to screak, screech* N. E. dial. [*skrīk*] (Wright Windh. p. 50), *skreych, skreik* (Murray, D. S. Count. Scotl. p. 122), *sk, sc* seems to depend on Scand. influence (: O. W. Scand. *skrækia*, O. Swed. *skrika*), whereas in M. E. *schrichen, schriken*, N. E. *to shriek sh* points to O. E. forms of native origin. The forms are very characteristic of the close relations between native and Scand. elements in M. English.

M. E. *scrēmen* vb. 'to scream' H. M. 37, P. S. 158: O. W. Scand. *skrǣmask* 'to take to flight', Norw. *skræma*, Dan. *skræmme,* Swed. *skrämma* 'to scare, terrify'. Other formations from the same root are O. W. Scand. *skrǣkia* 'to cry aloud, howl' (cf. prec. word), O. Swed. *skrēna* 'to howl', Norw. dial. *skræla* 'to cry aloud,' O. Swed. *skrāla* 'to howl, scream.'

[M. E. *scrennkenn* 'to supplant, deceive' Orrm.: Swed. dial. *skränka* 'to turn out of joint' (Rietz). The O. E. *screncan* 'to put stumbling-block in the way of' has given M. E. *schrenchen*; M. E. *screnchen* (see Stratm.-Bradley) is possibly a hybrid form. It is difficult to find any native word quite corresponding in Scand.; Swed. *(in-)skränka* seems to be from German. Related Scand. words are given by Karsten l. c. p. 76. Perhaps the word is to be judged on the principles suggested p. 10.]

M. E. *scrinken, skrinken* 'to shrink', see Stratm.-Bradley s. v. *schrinken*, Böddeker, Altengl. Dichtungen, Glossary: Norw. dial. *skrøkka, skrøkkia* < **skrinkuian*. O. E. *scrincan* has given M. E. *schrinken,* N. E. *to shrink.*

[O. E. *scrippe,* M. E. *skrippe,* N. E. *scrip* is not a Scand. loan-word, see Archiv CI p. 391 f.]

[M. E. *scrið* 'urging, entreaty' Gen. and Ex. 1419. It is uncertain what combination of sounds *scr* denotes in this text.[1])]

M. E. *skrithen* 'glide, escape' Min. (see Stratm.-Bradley): O. W. Scand. *skriða*, O. Swed. *skridha* 'to move smoothly' (= O. E. *scrīðan* 'to move smoothly, glide'). *sc* in *scriðen* Laʒ. may denote *š*. As for *sc* in M. E. *scrōd* pret. Gen. and Ex., where *ōd* depends on the O. E. verb, cf. prec. word.

[M. E. *scrof* 'rough' A. P. II 1546[2]): Swed. *skrof-lig* 'rough', *skrofis* etc. (Noreen, Svenska Etymologier, Uppsala 1897 p. 64, von Friesen, Mediageminatorna, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1897, p. 83).]

[N. E. *scrofe* 'glabra', see *scurf*.]

[M. E. *scrog* 'shrub, brushwood' D. Arth., *scroggi* 'covered with brushwood' Gest. R., N. E. dial. *scrog(s.)* Origin unknown; the explanation given by Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Wall p. 118, is not to be accepted. M. E. *shrogges* Townl. Myst. 110, N. E. *shrogs*, Wall l. c., suggest the existence of a corresponding O. E. word.]

M. E. *scrubben* vb. 'to scrub' Alis. 4310, N. E. *to scrub*: O. Swed. *skrubba* etc., see von Friesen, Mediageminatorna p. 81; N. E. *shrub* 'a dwarf tree' is possibly a related word from O. E; cf. Norw. dial. *skrubba* 'Cornus suecica', see v. Friesen l. c. p. 80.

[M. E. *scue* sb. 'shadow' Gaw. 2167, Pr. P. 450, may be a hybrid of O. W. Scand. *skuggi*, O. Swed. *skugge* etc. and O. E. *scua*, *scuwa*.]

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[1]) According to Fritzsche, Anglia V p. 73, O. E. *c* is in Gen. and Ex. always kept as *c* in the sound-group *scr-*. This is not quite accurate, as O. E. *scr* is, in some cases, represented by the spelling *sr* (see Glossary to Gen. and Ex.) — A glance into the Dictionaries of M. E. and Mod. E. shows that *sc-*, *sk-* appears in a comparatively greater number of words before *r* than before vowels. In O. E. *scr-*, has *sc* (*š*) become ME. *sk* sporadically in the same way as O. E. *sl-* (or perhaps *šl-*, see Bülbring, Anglia Anz. IX p. 104) has perhaps dialectically become O. E. *scl-* (Sievers Ags. Gramm.[3] § 210, 1, but cf. Bülbring l. c.), M. E., N. E. dial. *scl-*, *skl-* (cf. Stratm.-Bradley p. 536, 551, Knigge p. 60, Varnhagen, Anglia Anz. VII. p. 87, Murray, D. S. Count. Scotl. p. 122, Gerken, Douglas p. 61, E. D. D. s. v. *asklent*)? Scand. influence may have supported such a sound-change.

[2]) The MS. has *strof*, but the alliteration requires *scrof* (*when hit þe scripture hade scraped with a strof penne.*)

N. E. *scug*, see p. 35.

[M. E. *scowk* sb., 'hoc congelima' Wr. Voc. 725, 31. Origin unknown.]

M. E. *scūlen* vb. 'to scowl' Pr. C., Pr. P., N. E. *to scowl*: Dan. *skule* (see Jessen, Et. Ordb.), Swed. dial. *skula* 'to cover, hide' (= Dutch *schuilen*, Franck, Et. Wb., M. H. G. *schūlen* etc., Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 153).

M. E. *sculken*, *scolken* vb. 'to skulk, lie hid, loiter' R. Gl., Ps., Pr. C. etc.: der. *skulkere* etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: Norw. dial. *skulka* 'to lie in wait, to lurk', *skulkar*, sb. 'a spy' (Aasen), O. Swed. *skulkare* sb. 'skulker' (Söderwall), Swed. dial. *skolk* (Magnusson, Svenska Landsmålen II, 2 p. 62), early Dan. *skulke* vb. 'to lie hid' (Jessen, Et. Ordb.); see Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 277, Hellquist, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 155.

M. E. *sculle*, *scolle* sb. 'skull, cranium' R. Gl., Wr. Voc. 626, 17, 631, 6 etc., see Stratm.-Bradley, N. E. *scull*: Swed. dial. *skulle* 'a scull', Noreen, Svenska Etymologier p. 65 f. The spelling *sch* is found in *schulle* A. R. p. 296. — The etymology given by Skeat, Et. D. is erroneous.

M. E. *skŭm* (*skūm*?), *scŏm* sb. 'scum', *skŭmen* (*skūmen*?), *skummen* vb. 'to scum' Fer., Ayenb., Pr. P. etc., see Stratm.-Bradley: O. Swed. *skūm* 'scum'.[1]) Cf. *skim* p. 127.

[M. E. *scūren* vb. 'to scour, verbero', N. E. *scour* is perhaps a Romance word, cf. Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1891—94 p. 310 f., Et. D.[2]). — O. Swed. N. Swed. *skura*, Dan. *skure* are, very likely,

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[1]) As for the shortening of *ū*, see Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 67, Holthausen, Anz. f. deutsch. Altert. XV p. 291, Luick, Anglia XVI p. 501 f. In East Scand. there was early a tendency to shorten a long vowel before *m*, see Lyngby, Udsagnsordenes bøjning p. 7 and footnote 2, Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 133, 300, but this tendency cannot have been so early as to have caused the shortening in the M. E. word, which shortening depended merely on English sound-laws or tendencies. The explanation of *ŭ* in N. E. *plum*, given by Pogatscher, Lehnworte p. 131, is not, therefore, necessarily the only correct one. Cf. N. E. *thumb*, *crumb*, Morsbach l. c., Skeat, Tr. Ph. Soc. 1899 p. 267.

[2]) Phonetically there is nothing speaking positively against such a supposition, as O. Fr. *ū* (< Lat. *ū*, cf. Nyrop, Grammaire Historique p. 155) has in some dialects actually given M. E. *ū*; see Behrens, Beitr. p. 118 ff., Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 973 (to the examples given by Behrens may be added M. E. *dour* 'hard, stiff, obstinate' Barb. Br. X 159, N. E. dial. *dour* 'hard, stern etc.', E. D. D. [= Fr. *dur*]). But it is to be noted, that if Skeat's

from L. Germ. *schūren* (cf. Jessen, Et. Ordb.), and Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *scheuern*, thinks that the English word also might be from L. Germ. Frank, Et. Wb. s. v. *schuren*, holds it possible that the whole Teutonic word-group might be of native Teutonic origin and not ultimately from Lat. *excurare*. As long as all these questions are unsettled, it is not possible to decide the origin of M. E. *scūren*.]

M. E. *scoures* Alex. (Sk.), 'showers': O. W. Scand. *skúr*, O. E. Scand. *skūr* 'a shower' (= O. E. *scūr*, M. E. *shūr*, N. E. *shower*).

[M. E. *scurf* 'rubbish', *scrof* 'glabra' Wr.Voc. 626, 17 (= *scalle*), N. E. *scurf* 'a dry miliary scab formed on the skin': Icel. *skurfur*, Swed. *skorf*, Dan. *skurv* (perhaps also Swed. dial. *skrovsjuka* 'a skin disease of cattle', v. Friesen l. c. p. 83); cf. O. E. *scurf, scruf* sb. 'scurf', *scurfede* adj. 'scurfy', M. E. *schroff* Dep. R. II 154, *ssorved* 'scabby' Ayenb. 224. If the word is of native Teutonic origin — as it may be (thus *e. g.* Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 19, Noreen, Urgerm. Lautl. p. 9, 102, 105 f., Svenska Etymologier p. 64,[1]) Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *scurf*, Jessen Et. Ordb. s. v. *skurv*) — *sc* most probably depends on Scand. influence. Still some influence may have been exercised by Lat. *scrophula* (O. E. *scrofel*, Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., may be from Latin, although possibly native and cognate with Swed. *skruvel* 'roughness', Noreen, Sv. Et. l. c.); cf. *scab* p. 120 f.

M. E. *skūten* vb. 'to project' Alex. (Sk.) 4865, *skūte* sb. 'cave formed by projecting rocks' Gaw. 2167, N. E. dial. *scoot, scout*, Wall p. 117: O. W. Scand. *skúta* vb. 'to project', *skúti* sb. 'projecting rock' (Fritzner), Norw. dial. *skuta* 'to project.

N. E. *scout* vb. to ridicule an idea': O. W. Scand. *skúta, skúti* 'a taunt', cf. Skeat, Princ. E. Et. I p. 460, Et. D. It is perhaps a doublet form to M. E. *schūten* 'to shout, vocifero', N. E. *to shout*, cf. Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 538. Gerken, Sprache des Bischof

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etymology be right, this would be the only case known of O. Fr. *ū* being represented by N. E. (rec. sp.) *ou* [*au*].

[1]) It is, for our purposes, quite immaterial, whether the etymology given by Wadstein or that given by Noreen is the right one. — The word may, in my opinion, belong to the group treated by v. Friesen l. c. p. 80 ff. — Swed. dial. *skryvla* 'to shrivel' (cf. Swed. dial. *skruvel* 'roughness'), Noreen, Svenska Etymol. p. 64, depends on the same Teutonic base which has given N. E. *to shrivel*, erroneously explained by Skeat, Et. D.

Douglas, p. 53, thinks that M. E. *schūten* might be from Scand., too, with Anglicised *sch* instead of *sk*, which is, of course, possible.

[M. E. *scotile, scotylle* 'dish, scutella, a winnowing fan' Wr. Voc. 726, 7, 770, 21, N. E. *scuttle* 'shallow basket or vessel': O. W. Scand. *skutill* 'a dish'. Cf. Pogatscher, Lehnworte p. 151, Skeat, Et. D. s. v. *scuttle,* Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *scuttle.* But *sc* may depend on fresh Latin influence.]

M. E. *squelen* vb., M. H., C. M., N. E. *to squeal*: Swed. dial. *skväla* 'to squeal', O. W. Scand. *skvala* 'to shout', cf. Skeat, Princ. I p. 462, Et. D.

b) Internally and finally.

O. E. *-sc-, -sc* (internal and final) seems also to have become M. E. *š* by sound-law, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 994 f., Bülbring, Engl. Stud. XXVII p. 84 f., but there are actually some cases in which M. E., N. E. *sk* appears and in which there seems to be no reason for assuming foreign influence. Thus *sk,* instead of *sh,* is often to be accounted for as developed from O. E. *cs, x,* M. E. *ks, x* (which was often developed from O. E. *sc* through metathesis, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 204, 3, Bülbring, Anglia Beiblatt IX p. 103 f.),[1]) *e. g.* M. E. *asken* 'to ask', M. E. *aske* 'a lizard' (< O. E. *āðexe*), M. E. *tusk* (also *tusch*), N. E. *tusk* (O. E., M. E. *tux,* in Scand. occurring only in the nom. pr. *Ratatoskr,* see p. 114). M. E. *sk* instead of *š* is, therefore, taken by itself, no very reliable loan-word test; only when there are other circumstances, too, speaking for Scand. origin, *sk* instead of *š* is of consequence.

M. E. *aske-fise* 'one who blows the ashes, ciniflo' Pr. P. p. 15 etc., see N. E. D., Way, Pr. P. p. 15 foot-note 3,[2]) also *askebaðie* 'one who sits in the ashes' A. R. etc., see N. E. D.:

[1]) Kluge l. c. p. 995 thinks that the sounds preceding or following *sc, sk* have been of some consequence for the M. E. development to *sk* or *sh.*

[2]) Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 555, thinks that the original meaning was 'in cinere pedens'. But the original meaning of Scand. *fīsa* was 'flare' (cf. O. W. Scand. *fisibelgr* 'small bellows'), which meaning is still alive in Norw. dial. *fisa* 'to blow, esp. the fire' (Aasen, Ross, Tamm, Et. Ordb., Bugge, Svenska Landsmålen IV 2 p. 227), and this harmonizes very well with the translation 'ciniflo', given in the Pr. P., Med. Gramm. and other vocabularies (see Way l. c.).

Norw. dial. *oskefis, oskeladd, oskunge, oskefisl, oskefot, oskelabb, oskelamp* etc. (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. *askefis, askepask, askepjesk, askepjakks* etc. (Rietz), Dan. *askefis, askebager, askepot* etc. (Kalkar I p. 82, Storm, E. Ph.[2] I p. 555). The simplex *aske* 'ashes', itself, occurs rather frequently, esp. in texts where the Scand. loan-words are numerous (see Dictionaries, esp. N. E. D.), and it is probable that *sk* partly depends on Scand. influence, although it may partly rest on the O. E. form *axe* (< *asce*). But in the compounds *askefise, askebathe* there is no *sh* known, and if there were such forms (with *sh*) to be found, they would probably be due to the secondary influence of the native word *ashe*. The compound words in question are, no doubt, borrowed from the Scand. languages, all of which were very prolific in word-formations of this description.[1])

M. E. *basken* 'to bask' Gaw. etc., is most certainly a Scand. word, although there may be different opinions about the question as to which Scand. word was the source of the English one. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939, Skeat, Et. D., N. E. D., and others derive M. E. *basken* from O. W. Scand. *baðask*, Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 543 and others from O. W. Scand. *bakask*, whereas I have tried (Dial. Prov. p. 6 f.) to derive it from a Scand. base *baska*, still found with different meanings in several Scand. dialects (Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 6). If I am right in this supposition, the word is identical, etymologically, with N. E. (obs.) *baske* 'to strike with a bruising blow' (N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *bask* 'to beat severely' (E. D. D.).[2])

M. E. *beȝȝsk, baisk, bask*, N. E. dial. *bask* (see Dial. Prov. p. 7) 'bitter' is, also from other reasons, a Scand. word, see p. 40.

[M. E. *bisskopp* (Orrm.) is regarded by Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 995, as the regularly developed form from West Teutonic

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[1]) The word *fīs*, as a simplex, only occurs once in M. E. (Wr. Voc. 679, 23, see Dictionaries), and is apparently from Scand. The true English word shows a *t*-suffix (O. E. *fīsting*, M. E. *fīst, fīsten*, cf. M. L. G. *vīst* etc.). The sense of Scand. *fīsa* 'to blow' found in M. E. *askefise* is another evidence of the Scand. origin of our word.

[2]) N. E. dial. *besk* 'to bask' in the dialect of Windhill (Wright p. 29) is not due to *i*-mutation, but depends on a change of *a* > *e* before *s* + consonant, as does also *kest* 'to cast' in the same dialect; cf. *plesh* in the same dialect < *plaš*, M. E. *plasche*.

biskop. But as the sound-law given by Kluge l. c. is rather doubtful and as forms with metathesis do not seem to have existed, *sk* may depend either on fresh Latin influence or on Scandinavian influence according to the principles and possibilities pointed out p. 4 footnote 3, p. 10.]

N. E. *brisk*, by most scholars considered a Celtic loanword, is rather to be derived from Scand., see Johansson, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXX p. 451 foot-note, Storm, E. Phil.[2] I p. 544.

[M. E. *buske* sb. 'bush, shrub' Gen. and Ex., Langl. P. Pl., Gaw., Pr. P. etc. It is not settled whether the word *bush, busk* is ultimately of Teutonic or Latin origin, and it is therefore uncertain how to consider the English word-form in *sk*. Its distribution (chiefly in the northern dialects, see N. E. D.) suggests Scandinavian influence.]

M. E. *busken* 'to prepare, get ready, deck, adorn, to prepare oneself' C. M., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.) etc. (frequent in W. Midland and Northern texts), N. E. *to busk* ('exc. Sc. and North. dial.', N. E. D. s. v.): O. W. Scand. *búask* 'to get oneself ready' (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 4).

M. E. *cask* adj. 'swift, lively', *crask* '? burly', 'crassus' will be dealt with in another connection.

[M. E. *dusk* 'dusk', *dusken* vb. 'to darken, make or grow dark', N. E. *dusk* is from O. E. **dux* < **dusc* (cf. O. E. *dosc, dox, dohx*) and need not be derived from the cognate Scand. words, cf. Kluge, Engl. Stud. XI p. 511, N. E. D., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v.]

[M. E. *fissk* sb. 'a fish', *fisskenn* vb. 'to fish' (Orrm.) probably depend on a native form with *x, ks* (cf. Brate, Paul and Braune's Beitr. X p. 40), although in a text like the Orrmulum Scand. influence may be possible.]

[M E. *fisken* vb. 'to scamper about, wander, roam' Gaw., Langl. Pl. P. C., Pr. P., early N. E. *fisk* (see Way Pr. P. p. 162 foot-note 3), N. E. dial. (Shropsh.) *fisk* 'to wander, roam about idly', E. D. D.: Norw. dial. *fjaska* vb. 'to flatter, fawn, bungle, huddle, hoax', *fjask* sb. 'a fawning person, a stroller, vagrant' (Ross), Swed. dial. *fjaska, fjäska* 'to scamper about fussily, to bustle about' (Rietz, Tamm, Et. Ordb., Hellquist, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. XIV p. 17). But the word might be a frequentative of O. E. *fȳs(i)an* 'to hurry', formed with a *k*-suffix, see N. E. D.

s. v. If this be the case, *sk* instead of **sh* is quite natural, especially if the verb was formed in late times from analogy to such verbs as *to walk*, *to talk* etc.[1])]

[M. E. *frosk* sb. 'frog', N. E. dial. *frosk* (Wall p. 100) is rather from O. E. *frox* than from O. W. Scand. *froskr*.]

M. E. *harsk* C. M. 21339, D. Arth., Pr. P. 'harsh': Dan. *harsk* 'rancid' (cf. Swed. *härsken* 'rancid'), related to O. W. Scand. *harðr*, Engl. *hard* (cf. M. L. G. *harsch* 'asper'). N. E. *harsh* cannot be the phonological continuation of M. E. *harsk*, but may depend on some suffix change.

[M. E. *huske*, N. E. *husk* is not a Scandinavian word. Several attempts to explain the word have been made, see Skeat, Et. D. s. v., Stratm.-Bradley s. v., Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. The word seems to me to be related to O. E. *hos* 'a pod' (Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict.),[2]) Scotch dial. *hose* 'the seed-leaves of grain' (Jamieson), cf. N. Germ. dial. *hosen* 'a husk'. This O. E. *hos* (*hosa*, *-e*, *-u*?) might ultimately be the same word or be from the same root as O. E. *hosa*, *-e*, *-u*, N. E. *hose*, N. H. G. *Hose*, probably originally meaning simply 'a covering', cf. Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 127 f.]

M. E. *les(s)ke* Orrm. 4776, D. Arth., Pr. P. 'loin, inguen', N. E. dial. (Lincsh.) *lesk* 'groin or flank', Halliw. II p. 515: O. Swed. *liuske*, O. Dan. *liuske*, Dan. *lyske* (Jessen, Et. Ordb.), cf. Brate p. 48 (= M. Dutch *liesche*, M. L. G. *lēsche*). Kluge, Et. Wb.[5] p. 234 gives an O. E. *lēosca*, but I have not been able to find any O. E. use of the word.

[M. E. *maske* sb. 'a mesh (of a net)', Pr. P., may be from

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[1]) Scand. *fjaska* etc. seems to be related to M. H. G. *viselen* 'kleine Bewegungen machen, knabbern', O. H. G. *vasôn* 'hin- und herfahrend und zupfend suchen', N. H. G. *faseln* 'to talk foolishly' (cf. Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *fasa*); cf. Norw. dial. *fjas* 'foolery, buffoonery', Swed. dial. *fjas* 'a fool', also 'a useless bustling about' (Lindgren, Svenska Landsmålen XII 1 p. 54). Are these words allied to N. E. dial. *firk* 'to move in a jerking manner, to fidget, hitch, etc.', E. D. D. (also with other, quite different, meanings; cf. O. E. *fer(e)cian*, M. E. *ferken*, which seems related to O. E. *faran* etc.)?

[2]) It cannot be decided whether this was the nom. form; it is given as *hosa* by Bosw.-Toller, who translate the word by 'a husk, a covering for a grain or seed'.

O. E. *max* (< *masc*) 'net' quite as well as from O. W. Scand. *mǫskvi*, O. Swed. *maske* 'mesh of a net'.]

M. E. *mennissk* adj. 'human' Orrm. Dedic. 218, *mennisskleggk* sb. 'humanity' Orrm. 85, *menskeliche*, *menskly* adv. 'honorably' A. R. 316, Gaw. 1312, 1983, *mennissknesse* sb. 'humanity' Orrm. 1373, *menske* sb. 'dignity, honour' Kath., Marh., Jul., (Stodte p. 64), A. R., A. P. etc. (see Stratm.-Bradly), *menskeful* adj. 'honorable', *menskefully* adv. 'honorably', *mensken* vb. 'dignify, honour', *e. g.* Langl. P. Pl. (see Stratm.-Bradley). *sk* is in these words far more frequent than *sh* and is, no doubt, due to Scandinavian influence. Also the distribution of the words, taken as a whole, speaks for the same. Cf. O. W. Scand. *menska* sb. 'humanity', *menskr* adj. 'human, belonging to man', O. Swed. *mænska* sb. 'goodness, mildness, liberality, generosity', *mænskhet* sb. 'liberalitas', *mænsker* adj. 'mild, liberal, generous', *mænsklika* adv. 'liberally, generously', *mænskliker* adj. 'human' (Söderwall's Ordbok), O. Dan. *menske*, *meniske* 'kindness, good-will' (Kalkar's Ordbog).

[M. E. *pasken* (also *paschen*) 'to dash', see Stratm.-Bradley. Etymology obscure.]

[M. E. *rusken* vb., see Stratm.-Bradley. Sense and etymology obscure.]

M. E. *wisk* sb. 'whisk, swift stroke' Barb. V 641, N. E. dial. *wisk* sb. and vb., N. E. *whisk* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *visk* 'a wisp of hay etc.', Swed. *viska* 'a whisk, small broom'; see Cent. D. s. v., Skeat, Princ. I p. 471, Et. D.

2. Scandinavian *k*.

West Teutonic *k* was, owing to a sound development which began at a very early date, under certain circumstances (see *e. g.* Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 206, Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. IX p. 74 ff.; references are given by Wyld, Tr. Philol. Soc. 1899 p. 123 f.),[1]) represented in the earliest O. E. by a front *k*-sound (*ċ*) which in late O. E. (at least West Sax., Kent. and Merc.) became

[1]) I cannot here more closely enter on the question as to the pronunciation at different times of the sounds written *c* in O. E. and represented by M. E. *ch*, which question is rather irrelevant for the present purpose.

č (*tš*) (probably through the intermediate stage *čχ*, cf. Bülbring, Anglia Beibl. IX p. 102),[1]) evidence of such a pronunciation being offered by spellings like *feccean* (< O. E. *fetian*), *orceard* (< O. E. *ortzeard*), see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 993, Bülbring l. c., Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 206, 4. In M. E., the Scand. combination *tš* is written *ch* and easily distinguished from the *k*-sound. In the same way, West Teutonic *kk* was, under certain circumstances, represented by late O. E., M. E. *ttš* (in M. E. written *ch, cch, chch*). Although, in Scandinavian, Teutonic *k* may, at the date of borrowing, have been liable to a slight fronting in the neighbourhood of front vowels and semi-vowels, it had in no case become *tš*. In M. E. the spelling *k, c* (*ck, kk, cc*), may therefore be regarded as a test of Scandinavian influence.

Unfortunately, it is in many instances still unsettled whether, according to regular native sound development, M. E. *ch* or *k* is to be expected, and in these instances, *k* is more or less unreliable as a loan-word test. The question concerning non-palatalisation of Teutonic *k* as a Scandinavian sign cannot, therefore, be successfully dealt with until, by means of a statistic examination of the O. E. and M. E. spellings, it has been ascertained which was the regular native sound development in the different English dialects at different dates.[2]) What renders the problem extremely difficult, is that, in the dialects North of the Humber, the transition of *ċ* > *tš* seems, indeed, as far as the records accessible to us are concerned, not to have taken place (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, Morsbach, Literaturbl. X p. 101, Me. Gramm. p. 14, see also Murray, D. S. C. Sc. p. 122) — and to what extent Scandinavian influence may have prevented such a transition, will never be sufficiently ascertained. But also in some of the Midland dialects, *k* seems to be the regular correspondence of O. E. *ċ*, in others *ch* was

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[1]) Otherwise Wyld l. c., p. 136 f. As a rule, I cannot agree with the views taken by Wyld in his treatise; at any rate, he is decidedly wrong in rejecting Scand. influence altogether as the cause of the non-palatalisation of *k*.

[2]) Collections for this purposes (dealing only with medial and final *k, ch*) have been made by Wyld in his treatise in Tr. Philol. Soc. 1899.

confined to only a part of the positions, in which it appeared in the South.[1]) Only the more southern dialects (where the Scandinavian influence was less important) give us more reliable information. But even here it is often difficult to decide whether *k* was due to analogy or to Scandinavian influence. In some instances the possibility of northern influence is to be taken into account.

As matters stand now, I must content myself with giving the cases in which *k* is certainly to be accounted for by assuming Scandinavian influence and with discussing a few more or less questionable instances. The problem as a whole must be made the subject of a special work.[2])

a) Initial Scandinavian *k* in cases where the corresponding native words would have shown *tš*.

The starting-point must be made from the vowels before which *k* would have stood, if the words had been native English, at the prehistoric times when the palatalisation first began to take place.

α) *æ* < West Teut. *a* (Sievers, Ags. Gram.[3] § 49 ff.); this transition (*a* > *æ*) took place before the palatalisation of *k*, and both these transitions were earlier than the *i*-mutation. The regular development of West Teutonic *k* is shown by such forms as M. E. *chaf* (< **cæf*), *chetel* (< **cætil-*).[3])

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[1]) In the case of dialects in which the Scand. influence has proved especially important, the points of view brought forth with regard to Scand. *sk*, O. E. *sc* (p. 10) are to be taken into consideration also in respect to Scand. *k*, O. E. *ċ*, *č*.

[2]) I have not had the opportunity of using B. D. Woodward's Palatal Consonants in English, Dissertation, Columbia College, New York 1891.

[3]) Several difficulties are involved by the treatment of West Teut. *k* before the English correspondences of West Teut. *ă*, cf. Kluge, p. 991 f., Morsbach, Anglia Beibl. VII p. 329 f., especially before *r*, *l* + consonant; *ch* is found in M. E. *charken* (< O. E. *čearcian*) 'to creak' (Pr. P. etc.) cf. Kluge l. c.: M. E. *carl* 'man', N. E. dial. *carl* (E. D. D.), *carl-cat* (Wall p. 93, E. D. D.; cf. O. E. *carl-fuzol*, *carl-man*, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 932), *carpen* 'to talk' therefore probably show a distinctively Scand. form. M. E. *chalf* 'calf', *cháld*, *chǫ́ld* 'cold', *chalk* 'chalk' are southern forms: *c* in M. E. *calf* 'sura', *calf* 'vitulus', *callen* 'to call', N. E. dial. *keld* sb. 'a spring' (< O. W. Scand. *kelda*, O. Swed. *kælda*, see Wall p. 108;

M. E. *casten, kesten* 'to cast, throw', also in texts like A. R., 'Katherine group' (Stodte p. 10) : O. W. Scand. *kasta,* O. Swed. *kasta* 'to throw'; the regular native form would have shown *ch* as is proved by M. E. *chester* < O. E. *ċeaster, ċester* (< Lat. *castra*) if introduced before the time when Teut. *a* became *æ* in this position and consequently before the time of the palatalisation, cf. Pogatscher, Lautl. der griech., lat. und rom. Lehnw. p. 178, 189 (but cf. Pogatscher, E. St. XIX p. 348).

M. E. *ketel* 'kettle', although chiefly a Northern form, is probably — at least in part — due to Scand. *ketill*; the southern native form is *chetel.* Pr. P. has both forms.

M. E. *kevel, cavel* 'bridle-bit, clamp, hook; lot', *kevelen* vb. 'to put a *kevel* on': O. W. Scand. *kefli, kafli,* O. Dan. *kæfle* etc., cf. Pogatscher l. c. p. 189 foot-note.

[*β*) *ēa* < W. Teut. *au.* The Scandinavian correspondence is *au* (*ou*); M. E. *coupe* (see p. 70), therefore, does not belong to this heading.]

γ) *ë, i.*

[M. E. *kele* 'keel (of a ship)', possibly from O. W. Scand. *kiǫlr,* O. Swed. *kiel* 'keel' (= O. E. *ċele*), is, no doubt, a loanword, but the direct source of the English word is by no means certain.[1])]

M. E. *ker* sb. 'marshy ground' Pr. P. etc., *alderker, -kyr, -kar* 'alnetum' Pr. P., N. E. dial. *car* 'a pool, hollow place', *aldercarr* 'bog or fenland, overgrown with aldertrees' (E. D. D.): O. W. Scand. *kiarr,* Dan. *kjær,* Swed. *kärr.*

[M. E. *kerven* vb. pret., *carf* are due to the influence of pret. pl. and past part.]

M. E. *ket* 'flesh' Rel. I 218, N. E. dial. *ket* 'carrion', Wall p. 109 : O. W. Scand. *kiǫt,* O. Swed. *kiøt.*

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cf. Finnish *kaltio*), therefore, offers no phonetic test of loan. M. E. *kerling* 'old woman' C. M., N. E. dial. *carlin(g)* (see E. D. D.) is also to be taken into consideration (O. W. Scand. *kerling* < **karlingō*-).

[1]) German *Kiel* 'keel' is probably from a base **kiul*- (cf. O. E. *ċēol* 'ship', O. W. Scand. *kiǫll* 'ship', Finnish *keula* 'stem (of a ship)', see Liebich, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXIII p. 223 ff. This renders an adequate judgement of the English word still more difficult.

M. E. *kide* 'kid, hædus' Orrm., MS. of A. R. (Morton's ed. has *ticchenes*), Gen. and Ex., Wicl., Ch., Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *kið*, O. Swed. *kiþ*, Dan. *kid*. In texts like the Orrmulum which show *ch* before *i* (< Teut. *i*) in native words, Scand. origin is unmistakable; it is also to be taken into account, that the Orrmulum cannot easily be supposed to have adopted forms from the English dialects North of the Humber. *d* instead of *þ* is remarkable, but is no evidence against Scand. origin, as is supposed by Jessen, Et. Ordb. Brate has omitted the word. Skeat, Et. D., Sweet, H. E. S. p. 299, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. assume Scand. origin.

[M. E. *kiken, keken* 'to look, peep', of uncertain origin, is hardly from Scandinavian: the Scand. languages seem not to have had the word, Swed., Norw. *kika*, Dan. *kige* etc. being borrowed from German (Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgeschichte p. 45). It is perhaps originally a Northumbrian word, in which case *k* could be due to native sound-development, see Luick, Arch. CII p. 71 (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 291).]

M. E. *kilp, kelp* 'handle of a vessel' (also 'scabbard, sword-belt'?), N. E. dial. *kelp* (Wall p. 108): O. W. Scand. *kilpr* 'handle of a vessel', Swed. dial. *kälp* 'handle of a vessel'.

[M. E. *kinken* 'to pant, gasp' Townl. Myst., N. E. dial. *kink* 'to cough', Wr. Windh. p. 37, is probably not a Scand. loanword. As it is a northern word, the form is no criterion of loan.]

M. E. *kippen* 'to seize, take up hastily' may, in some instances, be due to Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *kippa* 'to snatch'. The ultimate source of the Scand. word is not, it seems to me, quite settled; an attempt to give its etymology is made by Wadstein, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXII p. 233 ff.

M. E. *kirrke* Orrm. is distinctly Scandinavian in form, see *kide* above. Cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 194. In other M. E. texts the form may be regarded as ambiguous.

M. E. *kyrne* 'churn', Wr. Voc. 666, 12, is perhaps due to O. W. Scand. *kirna*. N. E. dial. *kirn* (see N. E. D. s. v. *churn*) is a Northern form and therefore ambiguous.

M. E. *kist(e), kest* 'chest, box', N. E. dial. *kist* (Wright,

Windh. p. 37). It is impossible to decide to what extent Scand. influence is to be assumed.

Other words, in which *k* before an etymological *e* or *i* occurs, in most cases probably depending on northern sound development, are here omitted. The examples given show sufficiently the difficulty of the problem.

b) Non-initial Scandinavian *k* (*kk*).

The difficulty of discriminating forms depending on Scand. influence from native ones is here enhanced by the fact that in O. E. the development of *tš* < *ċ* did not take place when *ċ* was immediately followed by a consonant (see Sweet, H. E. S. p. 194, Bülbring, Anglia Beiblatt IX p. 102), and from forms in which *k* was due to the position before a consonant it was often introduced by analogy into other forms; such forms occur as early as Rush.[1]: *cūken, besenked,* Bülbring l. c. p. 291.[1]) It is also to be taken into consideration that the alleged northern transition into *k* might have taken place within a larger territory of English dialects with regard to one position in the word than with regard to another.[2])

Some material for the treatment of the question may here be given.

M. E. *beck,* N. E. *beck* 'a stream' is the northern form of M. E. *bach, bæch, batch* etc., see Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143;

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[1]) Concerning the words *sēkenn, þennkenn, þinnkenn* in the Orrmulum, which have been explained in various ways by scholars (cf. Brate p. 17, Sweet, H. E. S. p. 195, Morsbach, Literaturbl. X p. 101), Professor Morsbach has kindly put the following explanation of his to my disposal. The syncope of *i* which is to be found in O. E. (West Sax.) *sēcð* etc., was originally common to all O. E. dialects. The O. E., M. E. forms with *e* in the ending depend on analogy and were developed after the time of the syncope (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 358 Anm. 3, 378 and Anm. 5). Owing to the syncope and the subsequent transition of *ċ* > *k* before a consonant (Bülbring l. c.), the prehistoric Anglian form **sækð* (**sēkð*) arose (< **sæċð* < **sæċið* < **sōċið*). This **sækð*, **sēkð* subsequently became *sēkeð* owing to analogy, and the *k* was introduced into the inf. etc. (> *sēkenn* in the Orrmulum). In the same way *þennkenn, þinnkenn* are to be explained. It is consequently unnecessary to assume the influence of O. W. Scand. *sókia,* O. Swed. *sōkia* etc.

[2]) Wyld l. c. p. 156 and passim is of opinion that the *k*-forms are not originally a northern characteristic. I am not at all convinced by his arguments.

no uses of *beck* are known for which the assumption of Scandinavian is necessary (cf. O. W. Scand. *bekkr*, O. Swed. *bækker*).

M. E. *bennk* 'bench', *bennkedd* 'supplied with benches', *bennkinnge* 'row of benches', in the Orrmulum, may depend on the influence of O. W. Scand. *bekkr* (< **benk*-), O. Swed. *bænker*, Dan. *bænk*. The true native form *bennche* in the Orrmulum is noteworthy and speaks in favour of the Scand. origin of *bennk* etc. M. E. *benk* in other M. E. texts (N. E. dial. *bink*) is the northern, native form of *bench*, cf. N. E. D.

M. E. *dīk(e)*, N. E. *dike* compared to M. E. *dich(e)*, N. E. *ditch*; it is not possible to decide whether and in what instances Scandinavian influence is to be assumed.[1]) Moreover, we should expect to find native forms with *k* also in the South, as *tš* seems to depend on the development of *c* > *ċ* > *tš* when it was final after *i* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 992), and *k* would have been regular in inflected forms; cf. M. E. *ich* 'I' and the M. E. doublets *-lik* and *-lich*, *pik* and *pich* (Lat. *picem*), *wik* and *wich* (Lat. *vicum*) in which *k*, when occurring in more southern texts, is preserved by O. E. case-inflections.

M. E. *fiken* 'to fidget, hurry about, trifle, flatter' (also in southern texts) is probably from O. W. Scand. *fīkia(sk)*, O. Swed. *fikia* 'to hurry about etc.' (Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *fika*). Its relationship to N. E. *fidget* is obscure.

[M. E. *heck* 'hatch, wicket-gate' is a native by-form of *hacche*; cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143.]

[Likewise M. E. *heckle, hekyle* sb. 'heckle (for flax)', *hekelen*

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[1]) N. E. dial. [*daik*] and other words in *k* instead of *ch* in the dial. of Windhill (Wright § 312) are supposed by Bülbring, Ind. Forsch. Anz. VI p. 201, to depend on Scandinavian influence. It seems, however, probable that *k* when corresponding to southern *tš* is, on the contrary rather, due to the regular development of this dialect and that *tš* (which occurs some times in this dialect) depends on southern influence. Professor Morsbach kindly informs me that in his opinion the dialect of Windhill belonged originally to the northern dialects (cf. Arch. C p. 286) and that it consequently had *k* where the Southern and Midland dialects had *ch*. — I cannot here enter on the different opinions concerning the treatment of O. E. *c* when preceded by an *ī*, *i*. — Concerning the distribution of the word in Mod. E. dial., see Wyld p. 255.

vb. 'to hackle (flax)' are native by-forms of *hechel, hachel* etc., see N. E. D.]

[M. E. *irken* vb. 'to be irksome', *irk* adj. 'distasteful' are not related to O. W. Scand. *yrkja* 'to work' (thus Skeat, Et. D., Sweet, H. E. S. p. 324); see Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Ekel*, Stratm.-Bradley s. v. No corresponding Scandinavian word known.]

M. E. *kirrke* Orrm. etc., the medial *k* in the Orrmulum is probably also due to Scand. influence; cf. p. 143.

M. E. *cleken* vb. 'to hatch, bring forth', N. E. dial. (chiefly Scotch) < *cleck* vb. and sb., see N. E. D., E. D. D.: O. W. Scand. *klekja*, O. Swed. *klækkia*. N. E. dial. *cletch* sb. 'a brood, a family, set, clique' shows that the word existed in O. E. as a native word; M. E. *cleken*, N. E. dial. *cleck* are possibly native.

M. E. *linke* (or *sawcistre*) sb. Pr. P. p. 306 'hilla', N. E. dial. *link* 'a sausage, chitterling', Halliwell (originally 'anything doubled and closed like a link'), M. E. *linken* 'to link, make a chain', N. E. *link* sb. and vb.: O. W. Scand. *hlekkr*, O. Swed. *lænker, lænkia* sb. 'chain, link' (= O. E. *hlenče*), cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 313, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *link*.

M. E. *merrke* sb. Orrm., *merke* sb. A. R. etc. 'mark, sign', *merken* vb. Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *merki* sb., O. Swed. *mærke* sb., O. W. Scand. *merkia* vb., O. Swed. *mærkia* vb. But *k* in M. E. *mark* sb. (< O. E. *mearc*), *marken* (< O. E. *mearcian*) would account for *k* in M. E. *merke, merken*, if native.

M. E. *mikell* Orrm., Gen. and Ex. etc. 'much, great, large', To what extent *k* depends on Scand. influence, cannot be decided, as *mikel*, when occurring in Midland texts, is easily accounted for by the O. E. inflected forms in which *c* was situated before *l*.

M. E. *mirke* 'dark, obscurus', *mirken* 'make dark' is, according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 940, distinctly Scand. in form (O. W. Scand. *myrkr*, O. Swed. *myrker*). But O. E. *mirce* (Bosw.-Toller, not in Sweet's A. S. Dictionary) probably need not have contained *č*, as there was originally a *w* after *k* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[3] § 72, 5), which *w* may in some cases have remained during the time of the palatalisation (see Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 173, 2), and even if the adj. was pronounced with *č*, the adv. formed from it is to be taken into consideration as doubtless containing *k*.

M. E. *seck* Gen. and Ex., Hav., A. P., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand. *sekkr*, O. Swed. *sækkr* (= O. E. *sæċċ*, M. E. **sach, zech* in the South, *seck* in the North, cf. Morsbach, Me. Gramm. p. 143). Some uses of the word south of the Humber may be due to Scandinavian influence, cf. Bülbring, Anglia Beiblatt IX p. 299.

M. E. *serk* Langl. P. Pl. B., Hav. etc.: O. W. Scand. *serkr* O. Swed. *særker* (= O. E. *sierċe, syrċe*).

M. E. *scrennkenn* 'supplant, deceive' Orrm. As is shown by the undoubtedly English word *cwennkenn*, *k* need not absolutely depend on Scand. influence. Cf. p. 144.

M. E. *slekkenn* vb. 'to slake, abate, extinguish' Orrm., *slekken* Pr. P. can, as far as the form goes, be either from Scand. (O. Swed. *slækkia*, O. W. Scand. *sløkkua*) or from O. E. *sleċċan* 'weaken' (from O. E. *slæc* and not related to O. W. Scand. *sløkkua*, see Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 93), but is, at least in the phrase *to slekkenn fīr*, probably from Scand.[1])

M. E. *slīke* 'such' Ps. is from O. W. Scand. *slíkr*, O. Swed. *slīker*, but *k* is no test as is shown by the material given by Wyld p. 163.

M. E. *þikke* 'thick' is perhaps to be explained like *mirke* above; Sweet, H. E. S. p. 203, Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *thick* explain *kk* through Scand. influence. Another explanation is given by Kluge, E. St. XIII p. 507. It is to be taken into account that no M. E. **mirche*, **þicche* are to be found. If there was no *w* after *kk* in O. E. *þicce* at the time of the palatalisation, there must still have arisen a change of *kk* and *ċċ* within the paradigm of this original *u*-stem.

M. E. *wirrkenn* Orrm. may owe its *k* to the sb. *werrk*, cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 194, or is to be explained in the same way as *sekenn, þennkenn* above p. 144.[2])

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[1]) Brate p. 58 has not noticed this phrase *to slekkenn fīr* Orrm. v. 10126 (cf. *slekken* 'extinguo' Pr. P. p. 459). The use of the word in the phrase *slekken þirrst* in the Orrmulum, is not, taken by itself, as Brate supposes, to be regarded as an evidence in favour of Scand. origin, as is shown by N. E. *to slake one's thirst* (< O. E. *slacian*, formed, like O. E. *sleċċan*, from the adj. *slac*). O. E. *sleċċan* is represented by M. E. *slech* 'to abate, lessen' (*of the sorow sum del he wold slech*) Metr. Tales ed. Hartshorne, London 1829 p. 200.

[2]) Since writing the above, Professor Morsbach has kindly placed the

3. Scandinavian *g*.

a) Initial *g*.

Teutonic ᵹ appears in the Scandinavian languages, initially, as the stopped sound *g*, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 178. In

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following remarks of his concerning the question of palatalisation at my disposal. I give these remarks here as throwing some light also on the question of non-palatalisation as a Scand. loan-word test.

Apart from the development in the northern dialects, O. E. *ċ*, later *č* becomes M. E. *ch* [č]:

1. *ċ* initially before a stressed primary front vowel (also *ea* before *l* and *r* + consonant; but *ea* + *l* + cons. only belonged to a few O. E. dialects).

2. medial *ċ* only immediately before a following *i*, *i̯*.

3. final *ċ* after (stressed or unstressed) *ɣ* (but not after other primary front vowels!); thus without a following *i*, *i̯* or other front vowel: *līch* (also in the Orrmulum), *wīch*, *pich*, *ich* (O. E. *iċ*); *swilch* (< **swiliċ*), *hwilch* etc.

But no palatalisation took place — as has been erroneously assumed — when *c* was situated between originally front vowels (apart from No. 2 above): thus the sound-combinations *ë-ce*, *æ-ce* and also *ɣ-ce* become M. E. *e-ke*, *a-ke* (early M. E. *e-ce*, *æ-ce*), *ɣ-ce*. There were consequently no forms with palatalisation in the inflected cases of sbs. like O. E. *bæc* (as for O. E. *bæčč* see later on), *fæc*, *zebrëc*, *zesprëc*, or in the inflected forms with a front vowel after *c* : *ræce*, *wræce*, *sæce* (nom. *racu*, *wracu*, *sacu*) or in adj. like *blæc*, *frëc*, *wlæc*. Forms with *ch* of such word-stems, as M. E. *wlach*, *wlech*, depend on the influence of formations with an *i*, *i̯* after the *c* (cf. O. E. *wlæce*, *i*-stem, and O. E. *wleċċan* vb.). Only in *ɣ-ce* doublets could arise owing to forms in which *c* was originally final (cf. No. 3 above).

M. E. *wacche*, *smacche*, *macche* etc. (cf. Me. Gr. p. 143) are proved by the *cch* and by the by-forms in *ę* to depend on an original *i̯* after the *c*. The same is to be assumed with regard to *bach* and *zech* (cf. Me. Gr. p. 143). Orrm's *obacch* is an old locative like O. E. *tō dæz*, *on merzen* etc. (*i*-mutation; cf. Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 237 Anm. 2, 3). N. E. *quitch*(*grass*) is from a M. E. **cwicche* < O. E. **cwiċċe* owing to the word having passed into the *ja*-flexion. Also O. E. *ċiriċe*, M. E. *chirche* must depend on a base **kirikja* (cf. N. E. D.). A ground-form without *i̯* after *c* could never have given M. E. *chirche*. Orrm's *racches* depends on *i*-mutation, as is shown by the *cch*.

Consequently, prehistoric O. E. *c* could only become *č* in an unstressed syllable:

1. in the sound-combination *-ič*,

2. in the combination *-či*, *-čči̯* (not *-ce*, *-cæ*).

The distribution of the palatalised forms in Midland and in Southern dialects depends, apart from Scand. influence in the Midland dialects, on

O. E. the same Teutonic sound is represented by a guttural spirant before consonants and primitive back vowels, by a palatal spirant before primitive front vowels, *i. e.* which at the time when the palatalisation of *ȝ* took place, were front vowels; but not before *i*-mutated, originally back vowels.[1]) At the beginning of the M. E. or at the and of the O. E. period, the guttural spirant became a stopped consonant (as in N. E. *good, glad*), but the palatal spirant remained unchanged. A small number of 12th century manuscripts employ two letters (*g* and *ȝ*) in order to distinguish between the sounds.[2])

Most M. E. manuscripts after the year 1200 distinguish between the two sounds.[3]) *g* instead of an expected *ȝ* or *y* in M. E. manuscripts is therefore often a sign of Scand. influence. This problem as a whole involves some difficulties which are, as a rule, analogous to those of *k* : *ch*.

Before Teutonic *ă* there are some difficulties, it being in some cases uncertain whether Teutonic *ă* was at the time of

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different tendencies of generalisation. In the South, generalisation, for the most part, took place in favour of the palatalised forms, in the Midland dialects more often in favour of the non-palatalised ones. Non-palatalisation is originally to be found in forms where *c* stood before a consonant or between front vowels (with the exception of vowel + *či*, *čči*). Thus Orrm's *swillc, whillc, illc, sēkenn, þennkenn* etc., *līc* (adj. and *līke* adv.), *mikell* (*michel* is often the Midland form) are to be explained as due to the generalisation of *k*. When, in the Orrmulum, *ch* occurs by the side of *c* (*k*), as in *līch, bodiglīch, līc* (sb.), *bennche, bennk*, the *k*-forms are most probably due to Scand. influence.

Orrm's *icc* (by the side of the unstressed *ĭ* < O. E. *ih*) either depends on the position of the word before a word beginning with a consonant or on Scand. influence (cf. O. W. Scand. *ek*), since final *ĭ* + *c* gives also in Orrm's dialect regularly *ich* (cf. *līch*). The form *ic* occurs also in other Midland monuments. In the Midland dialects O. E. *ic* (stressed) became M. E. *ic, ich*, and O. E. *ih* (unstressed) became M. E. *ĭ*, whilst the stressed form *ich* preponderated in the South, where the unstressed *ĭ* occurred more rarely.

[1]) See references given by Wyld l. c. p. 148.

[2]) See Napier, Academy XXXVII p. 133 ff., (Febr. 22, 1890), Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1000. According to Napier, the majority of 12th cy. MSS. still retain the old *ȝ* as a sign for both sounds and some few have entirely replaced it by *g*; cf. also Wyld l. c.

[3]) Gen. and Ex. has *g* for both sounds, cf. Förster, Anglia Anz. VII p. 54.

the palatalisation represented by *ă* or *ĕ*. In other cases there was a change between *ă* and *ĕ* and consequently also between O. E. *γ* and *ȝ*, depending on different forms within a paradigm. On such a change many M. E. doublets — as M. E. *ȝat* (*ȝeat*) and *gate* sb. 'a gate' — depend. Before *a* + *l* + consonant, *g* was the regular development in such dialects as had *k* before the same Teut. sound-combination (*viz.* such as showed no 'breaking' of *a* into *ea* before *l* + cons.; cf. p. 141 foot-note 3). Scandinavian loan-words containing such sound combinations are therefore left out of consideration in the following list.[1])

The material I give here is chiefly taken from such M. E. texts as discriminate in their orthography between the spirant and the stopped sound. Words not found until N. E. are only incidentally treated of.

M. E. *gap* sb., N. E. *gap*, M. E. *gapen* vb., N. E. *to gape*: Swed. *gap* sb., *gapa* vb., Dan. *gab* sb., *gabe* vb. For further particulars, see N. E. D. An O. E. **ȝapian* would also have given M. E. *gapen*. In the O. E. paradigm of the sb., if existing in O. E., there would have been a change of forms with *γ* and *ȝ*, which would have led to M. E. forms in *g* and *ȝ* (*y*). The absence of forms of the sb. and vb. in *ȝ* (*y*) points to Scandinavian origin, as does also the fact that the word is not recorded in O. E.

M. E. *garn* sb. 'yarn' Townl. Myst., Cath. Angl. p. 150 (also *ȝarn*), also in the compounds *garnwyn* (see N. E. D.), *garnwyndylle* Pr. P. etc. (see N. E. D.): O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *garn* (= O. E. *ȝearn*, N. E. *yarn*).

M. E. *garth* sb. 'a small piece of enclosed ground, usually

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[1]) The only cases known to me of *ȝ* in this position are M. E. *ȝelstren* 'to boast' (= O. H. G. *galstaron*) A. R. p. 128 (: *ȝelstreð ase þe uox deð and ȝelpeð of hore god*; MS. T. has *galstres*, MS. C. *galieð*) where *ȝ* may be due to the following *ȝelpeð*, and in M. E. *ȝelte* 'scropha' Wr. Voc., which seems to be a southern form and to represent a Teut. **galtiō* (cf. Arch. CI p. 394). But there is no reason for seeing a criterion of loan in the *g* of M. E. *gelden* 'to castrate', *geld(e)* 'barren', most probably from Scand. (but cf. O. E. *ȝielde* 'sterile', Sweet). M. E. *ȝ* before Teut. *a* + *l* + cons. may have been confined to some southern dialects in which Teut. *a* was liable to 'breaking' before *l* + cons.; cf. Teut. *k* before the same sound-groups, p. 141.

beside a house or other building, a fence or hedge etc.' (also in numerous compounds, see N. E. D. s. v. *garth*) Hamp. Ps., Pall. etc.; still current in the eastern and northern dialects of English, but obsolete in Scotch (N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *garðr*, O. Swed. *garþer*, Dan. *gaard* (= O. E. *ȝeard*, N. E. *yard*).

M. E. *garsell(e)*, N. E. dial. *garsil* 'brushwood used for fencing or (mod.) for burning' : Dan. *gjærdsel*, Swed. *gärdsel*; see N. E. D.

[M. E. *gaspen* vb., N. E. *to gasp*, see p. 53 ff.]

M. E. *gate* sb. 'a way, road' Orrm., C. M., E. E. Ps., Hav., Fer. etc., N. E. *gait*, see N. E. D.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *gata*; the Teut. ground-form **gatwōn* would hardly account for N. E. *gate* as a native word.

M. E. *gein, gain* sb. 'advantage, use, gain', St. Marh., Gaw. etc., M. E. *gein, gain* adj. 'strait, near' Gaw., A. P. etc., *geȝȝnlike* 'conveniently' Orrm., *geȝȝnenn, geinen, gainen* vb. 'to be suitable, useful' Orrm., H. M., A. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *gegn* adj., *gegna* vb. 'convenire', see N. E. D., cf. p. 112. The Teutonic base **gagin-* would have given English native forms with initial *ȝ, y*; cf. M. E. (native) *(on)ȝein* etc. prep. and adv. (< **gagin-*; M. E. *(on)gain*, N. E. *again* is from a base **gagani-*, cf. N. E. D. s. v. *again*), M. E. *ȝeinen, ȝēnen* 'to meet', see Stratm.-Bradley, Mätzner, Stodte p. 49. The words are undoubtedly in most cases, probably in all, due to Scandinavian influence; cf. M. E. *gaȝhenn* p. 112.

[M. E. *gēmen* according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 941 depends on the influence of O. W. Scand. *gøyma* etc. (= M. E. *ȝēmen*). If the form exists (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 17), it is, no doubt, a hybrid of the native M. E. and the Scand. word.]

M. E. *gere* 'equipment, apparatus, all sorts of instruments, manner, habit, etc.', deriv. M. E. *geren* 'to adorn, equip, harness (a draught animal)', Laȝ., C. M., A. P., Townl. Myst., see Dictionaries, M. Sc. *geir* (Gerken p. 25, Curtis § 263), N. E. *gear* sb.: O. W. Scand. *gørvi, gervi* (< Teut. **garwīn*, cf. O. E. *ȝearwe* pl. 'clothing, attire'). Concerning the loss of *w*, see ten Brink Ch. Gr. § 210 Anm., N. E. D. s. v. *gear*.

M. E. *geren, gerren, garen, forgaren* vb. 'to do, perform, make, cause', C. M., Hamp. Ps., Townl. Myst. etc., N. E. dial.

to gar : O. W. Scand. *gerva, gerva,* O. Swed. *gera* etc. (= O. E. *ȝierwan,* M. E. *ȝarwen, ȝaren*). See N. E. D.

M. E. *gersume, gærsume, garsume* sb. 'treasure' Laȝ., O. E., Hom., Marh., Kath., A. R. : O. W. Scand. *gersemi, gersemi,* O. Swed. *gersem* (Söderwall), O. Dan. *gersom* (Kalkar II p. 125). O. E. *ȝersuma, ȝærsuma* Chr., also is the Scand. word, cf. Steenstrup, Danelag p. 301, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict.

M. E. *gerþ, gerth* Rich. 5733, Pr. P. p. 190, *garth* Wr. Voc. 665, 34 'cingula', Th. Erceld 57 'saddle-girth etc.' (cf. N. E. D. s. v. *garth*), *horsgarthe* Wr. Voc. 727, 37, N. E. dial. *garth* 'a hoop', Wall p. 101 : O. W. Scand. *gjorð* (< **gerðō-*), *gerð* 'girth, girdle' (Swed. *gjord* 'girth' is ambiguous as to its ground-form, see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v.); N. E. *girth* is probably due to a contamination of M. E. *gerth* and M. E. *gird* (< O. E. **ȝyrd*) 'girth' (Alis. 2272), *girden, girdel* (< O. E. *ȝyrden, ȝyrdel* < **gurdjan, *ȝurdil-*).

[M. E. *gessen* 'to guess' is as yet unexplained, see Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. *guess*; cf. Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *gissa* who thinks the Scand. word is borrowed from L. German.]

M. E. *gest, gesst, gist* Orrm., A. R., R. Gl. (Pabst p. 81), Ayenb. etc. (deriv. M. E. *gesten* 'to lodge, feast', *gestnen* 'to entertain, lodge'), N. E. *guest*; *g* no doubt depends on Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *gestr,* O. Swed. *g(i)æster* etc. (< **gasti-* = O. E. *ȝiest, ȝyst*). In O. E. *ȝest-hus* in Alfric, the *e*-vowel points to Scand. influence, see Sweet, H. E. S. p. 312, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 75 Anm. 2. The frequent *i*-vowel in this word, and in M. E. *gistnen* 'to lodge, be entertained', *gistning* 'entertainment, banquet', when not depending on West-Saxon *y* (the *i*-forms are chiefly southern), is probably due to O. W. Scand. *gista* 'to entertain, to receive and treat with hospitality, to be entertained as a guest, to pass the night with one', O. Swed. *gista* 'to visit'.[1]) Scand. *gista* is, according to Wadstein, Ind.

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[1]) It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the Scand. word-stem *gist-* and the French stem *gist* (*dž*), see the instances in Mätzner and Stratm.-Bradley. Is M. E. *giste* 'refreshment, food' (Horstmann, Altengl. Legenden p. 8) from a Scand. word resting on a base **ga-wist-* (cf. O. E. *ȝewist-fullung* 'abundance, feasting, *deliciæ*' Bouterwek, Haupt's Zeitschr. IX p. 444) or from a Romance (French or A. French) word

Forsch. V p. 31, Bezz. Beitr. XXII p. 117, unrelated to *gestr* and represents a Teutonic **gawistōn* (but cf. Lidén, Bezz. Beitr. XXI p. 115 f.); if this was the base of M. E. *gist-nen* (which is by no means certain, cf. Lidén l. c.), this M. E. word is also distinctly Scandinavian in form (cf. O. E. *ȝewistian* 'to feast').

M. E. *geten,* pret. *gat,* pl. *gēten,* [*gǭten*], p. part. *geten* Orrm., Hav. etc., also in compounds and derivatives, N. E. *to get, forget* etc. : O. W. Scand. *geta,* O. Swed. *giata, g(i)œta*[1]) (= O. E. *ȝietan*). In the native word there were no forms in which *g* would have been regular, *ǭ* in the M. E. pret. pl. *gǭten* being from Scand. (cf. p. 86). In compounds like M. E. *biȝeten, ȝ* remained longer (cf. Dictionaries), because there was no Scand. **begeta.* The Orrmulum has *biȝetenn* but pret. *bigatt,* the latter owing to the influence of the simplex **getenn,* pres. sg. *gett* v. 10219; *ȝetenn* v. 17418 which White-Holt translate by 'to procure' means 'to cast, found' and is from O. E. *ȝēotan,* cf. Brate p. 43).

M. E. *gift,* see M. E. *given.*

M. E. *gigge, hwirlgigge* 'a whirling thing', N. E. *gig, whirligig.* Scandinavian origin is questionable, no Scandinavian corresponding word being known. Norw. dial. *giga, gigla, gigra* vb. 'to be loose, wabble, waver, sway to and fro', *gigl* adj. 'loose, wavering, rocking', *gigl* sb. 'something loose etc.' (Aasen, Ross), Swed. dial. *gikkäl* vb., *gikkel* sb. (with a similar sense, see Rietz p. 192) seem to be related words; cf. O. W. Scand. *geigja* 'to rove at random', O. E. *forȝǣȝan* 'to transgress, prevaricate', representing another ablaut. Swed. *gigg,* Dan. *gig,* are borrowed from English; cf. Tamm s. v. *gigg,* Jessen s. v. *gig.*]

M. E. *gile, gille* 'gill (of a fish), throat' A. P. III 269, Wicl., Pr. P. etc., M. E. *gillen* 'to disembowel (fish)' Pr. P., N. E. *gill* : Dan. *gjelle,* Swed. *gäl.* The *i*-vowel of the English word is obscure.

M. E. *gill, gille*(*-strēm*) D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.), Gav. Dougl. 'a deep rocky cleft or ravine', N. E. *gill* sb. 'a narrow valley

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borrowed from Teutonic (also O. E.) *wist* 'sustenance food, feast', or is it formed from a vb. **gistan* < Scand. *gista*?

[1]) O. Swed. *giata, g(i)œta* is from a base **gëta,* cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 78 Anm.

with a stream in it' (Wall p. 102, Jellinghaus, Anglia XX p. 284): O. W. Scand. *gil* sb. 'a crack, fissure, narrow glen'.

M. E. *gilde* E. Gilds p. 29, Pr. P. p. 193 etc., N. E. *gild* (*guild*) : O. W. Scand. *gildi*, O. Swed. *gilde*. There are also M. E. forms in ȝ (*y*), and there was an O. E. *ȝield* which also meant 'guild, fraternity' and has given M. E. *yelde*, E. Gilds p. 370. Kluge-Lutz derive M. E. *gilde*, N. E. *gild*, *guild* from an O. E. *ȝyld*. I cannot decide whether such an O. E. form (from a base **guldio*) actually existed; it is not in Sweet's Dictionary.

M. E. *gildire*, *gilder* sb. 'snare', *gildiren*, *gilderen* vb. 'to catch in a snare, deceive', C. M. 23307, Hamp. Ps. : O. W. Scand. *gildra* sb., O. Swed. *gilder*, *gildre* sb., early Dan. *gilder* sb. 'snare, trap', O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *gildra* vb., early Dan. *gildre* vb. An attempt to give the etymology of the Scand. words is made by Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 14.

N. E. dial. *guizend* 'leaky', Wall p. 105 : O. Swed. *gistin*, Dan. *gisten* etc., see Tamm s. v. *gisten*.

M. E. *giuen*, pret. *gaf*, *gāven*, *gēven*, [*gǭuen*], p. part. *giuen*; the forms with *g* are first recorded in the Orrmulum, where forms with ȝ are still to be found by the side of such depending on Scandinavian influence (cf. Brate p. 43, N. E. D. s. v. *give*); the distribution of the forms with *g* in other M. E. texts is easily seen from the dictionaries: O. Dan. *givæ*, O. Swed. *giva*, *g(i)æva*, O. W. Scand. *gefa* (= O. E. *ȝiefan*). Like in *geten* above, *g* may in no case be explained as native (*ǭ* in M. E. *gǭuen* being from Scand., cf. p. 86). — The frequent forms with an *i*-vowel (M. E. *giuen*, *ȝiuen*, N. E. *to give*) have been explained in different ways by scholars and may in this connection be once more dealt with. In his 'Untersuchungen zur engl. Lautgesch.' p. 302 f., Luick sums up the different opinions concerning this question. Luick himself is of the opinion that the *i*-vowel depends on the influence of the verb O. E. *niman*, M. E. *nimen*. Brate's opinion that the *i*-vowel depends on the influence of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. is rejected by Luick on the ground that this explanation would hardly account for the predominance of the *i*-vowel in the Anglian dialects in late Middle English, especially as in the Anglian dialects generalisation in such verbs always took place early

in favour of the non-mutated verb-forms. He also thinks that Brate's explanation does not account for the fact that in the M. E. verb *ȝeten, geten* (O. E. *ȝietan,* O. Scand. *geta*) the *e*-vowel is universally preserved, although one may have reasons for expecting these two verbs, which belonged to the same class of strong verbs and were in other respects analogous, to develop in the same way. Against this it may be pointed out that in O. Swed. the *i*-vowel was far more frequent in the verb *giva* than in *gita,* the usual form of this latter verb being *g(i)æta* (< **gĕta*),[1]) see Söderwall, Ordb. s. v. *gita, giva, gäta.* And O. Swed. *giva* cannot depend on the influence of O. Swed. *nima,* as this verb had very seldom the sense of O. E. *niman* 'to take' (cf. Söderwall s. v.), the usual O. Swed. word for 'to take' being *taka* (cf. O. Swed. *hælaghare ær at giwa æn taka,* Söderwall p. 405). O. Swed. *giva* therefore cannot be otherwise explained than as depending on the generalisation of the *i*-vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. (cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 78 Anm., § 164). In my view, the *i* of O. E. *ȝibaen* p. part. (Epin.), which cannot depend on the influence of the preceding *ȝ* (cf. Luick p. 202), is actually to be explained in the same way as O. Swed. *giva,* O. Dan. *givæ,* O. Swed., O. Dan. p. part. *given,* viz. through the generalisation of the original vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres.; cf. M. E. *dreien, dreihen* 'to draw', rightly explained by Stodte, Spr. der Kath.-Gruppe p. 50, as depending on the influence of the *i*-mutated forms. In many instances, especially in the South-West, the *i* of M. E. *ȝiuen* is the continuation of O. E. (W. Sax.) *ȝiefan, ȝifan, ȝyfan.* In the Anglian dialects the *i*-vowel may perhaps, to some small extent, depend on the generalisation of the original vowel of the 2nd and 3rd pres. sg., but, as Luick remarks, such an explanation would not well account for the very great frequency of the *i*-forms. But, as I hold, these *i*-forms are very easily explained without assuming them to depend on the influence of O. E. *niman.* It seems to me quite natural to attribute the main part of these Anglian *i*-forms to the influence of East Scand. *giva.* In fact the *g* of M. E. *giuen,* N. E. *give* cannot be otherwise

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[1]) O. Swed. *gēva,* N. Swed. *ge* 'to give' is from an O. Swed. ground-form *giva,* cf. Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *giva.*

accounted for, and the frequency of the *i*-vowel therefore, so it seems to me, is very well accounted for in the same way. It is true that forms with *ȝi-* occur much earlier than such containing the stopped sound, but they are to be considered as depending on the O. E. (Anglian) *ȝefan,* which may have early adopted the *i*-vowel through the influence of the Scandinavian word. M. E. *ȝiven*, when not depending on W. Sax. *ȝyfan*, is therefore probably, to a great extent, a hybrid form; to what extent, however, the original vowel of the 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. occurred natively in English at the time of the Danelag and thus facilitated this process, and in what instances the *i*-vowel may depend on southern influence, cannot be decided. The constant *e*-vowel of M. E. *ȝeten, geten* is probably, in a great degree, to be accounted for by the assumption that in the Scandinavian dialects spoken in England the verb 'to get' had the form *geta* (*giata*) more frequently than *gita,* whereas the usual form of the verb 'to give' was *giva.*[1]) — In M. E. *gift,* N. E. *gift,* the *g* is also due to Scand. influence: O. W. Scand. *gipt,* O. Swed. *gipt, gift* 'a gift, present'. O. E. *ȝift* meant 'price of a wife', and in M. E. *ȝift* the sense 'a gift' may be from Scandinavian.

b) Non-initial *g.*

Non-initial Scandinavian stopped *g* only occurred in the combinations *gg* and *ng* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 37, Altschwed. Gramm. § 34). Teutonic *gg, ng* became at the time of the prehistoric English palatalisation *ġġ* (in O. E. written *cȝ*), *nġ* before a following *i̯*, and these sound-groups became M. E. *ǧǧ, nǧ* (or *ddž, ndž*). M. E. *gg, ng* when occurring in cases where one had to expect *ǧǧ, nǧ* if native, would therefore point to Scand. influence. But, as a rule, the M. E. spelling does not discriminate between the sounds *ǧ* (*ǧǧ*) and *g* (*gg*), cf. Wyld p. 154 ff. Only the Orrmulum uses two different symbols for the two sounds, as has been discovered by Napier, E. E. T. S. 103 p. 71 ff. (cf. Academy 1890 p. 188). Thus the

[1]) The O. Swed. dialect represented by the O. Swed. Law of Småland (Cod. Skokloster 155 4°) had consistently *i* in *gifva*, but *iæ* (<*ē*) in *giæta* (cf. Björkman, Svenska Landsmålen XI 5 p. 10), and the same may have been the case in many O. East Scand. dialects.

Orrmulum uses the sign for the stopped sound in *eggenn* 'to egg on, urge, incite', *henngde* pret., *henngedd* p. part. 'suspended, crucified', *þrenngdenn* 3. pl. pret. 'thronged, pressed', but it cannot be decided whether these words depend on the influence of the O. W. Scand. *eggja,* O. Swed. *æggia,* O. W. Scand. *hengja,* O. Swed. *hængia,* O. Swed. *þrængia* or on an O. E depalatalisation before a following consonant, analogous to the depalatalisation of O. E. *ċ* in the same position (see p. 144); in the northern dialects O. E. *ġġ, nġ* seem not to have become *ǧǧ, nǧ, ddž, ndž*, cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 998. As for *eggen,* there are still other reasons for assuming Scandinavian origin, see Napier l. c. p. 71 foot-note. — A treatment of the question of *g* (instead of *ǧ*) as a criterion of loan must consequently, considering the scarceness of the M. E. material, be based almost entirely on Mod. English and its dialects.[1])

4. Scand. guttural spirant *ȝ*.

a) The native O. English correspondence of Scand. *a* + guttural *ȝ* (in O. W. Scand. written *g,* in O. E. Scand., as a rule, *gh*) was in some cases *æ* + palatal *ȝ*; the former became M. E. *aw*, the latter M. E. *ai*. Early M. E. *a* + guttural *ȝ* (> M. E. *aw*) instead of *æȝ* (> *ai*), in some cases, points to Scand. origin, see p. 108 ff.[2])

[1]) In this connection I take the opportunity of offering a few remarks concerning the Mod. E. adj. *big,* M. E. *big.* As its earlier occurrence was chiefly northern (see N. E. D.), it does not contain any distinctive mark of Scandinavian introduction, although it is probably from a base **buggjo-*. I identify this word with O. E. *Bicza* nom. prop. (*Æȝelric Bicza* circ. 1040, see Napier and Stevenson, Anecd. Oxon., Med. and Mod. Series VII p. 149 f., Searle p. 48) which I consider meant 'the proud, mighty, powerful'. A non-mutated form of the same word is to be found in O. E. nom. pr. *Bucze* fem. (as early as A. D. 736), *Bucza* masc. and fem., *Buggo* Lat. (Napier and Stevenson l. c. p. 56, Searle l. c.), which is probably cognate to Norw. dial. *bugge* sb. 'a mighty man' (Aasen, Ross), *bugga* adj. 'rich, wealthy, powerful' (Ross), probably identical with N. E. dial. *bug, buggy* 'conceited, vain, proud etc.' (see N. E. D.). The early and dialectal senses of Engl. *big* adj. (M. E. *big* chiefly meant 'validus, potens', see N. E. D.) very well agree with that of Norw. *bugge, bugga,* which words Ross s. v. refers to N. E. *big.* The etymology given by Skeat, Et. D., cannot be right (cf. Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 544).

[2]) It is most uncertain whether Scand. *-ȝ* in *aȝ* (*eȝ, iȝ* etc.) was in any loan-words represented by *gg* instead of forming a diphthong with

b) M. E. *drūnen* < Scand. **druɣna*, see Scandinavian dissimilation.[1])

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the preceding *a* (*e*, *i* etc.), and, if there were some instances of such a process, whether it was confined to words from Scand. and did not also in some dialects take place in native words.

N. E. *crag* 'the neck' (cf. M. E. *crawe* 'craw, throat' < O. E. *craɣa*) may perhaps be from an O. E. by-form **cragga* sb. (allied to Norw. dial. *kragga* vb. 'to cram, esp. with food'?).

M. E. *draggen*, N. E. *to drag*, *draggle* Murray, N. E. D. thinks are Northern dialect-forms of *to draw*, *drawl* (Swed. *dragga* vb. is from English, cf. Tamm s. v.).

N. E. dial. *feg* 'fair, handsome', may be depend on the Scand. superl. *fegst*, see E. D. D.

N. E. *flagge*, N. E. *flag* 'a piece cut out of or pared off the sward, a turf, sod' is, according to N. E. D., a dialect form of M. E. *flawe* of a similar sense.

Very obscure is N. E. *flag* 'an ensign', see Tamm s. v. *flagga*, N. E. D. s. v. *flag*.

E. E. dial. *fleg* 'a fly' is apparently from O. E. (Angl.) *flēɣe*, cf. E. D. D.

N. E. *gaggles* 'lines of geese flying' (Wall p. 101) seems to be from O. W. Scand. *gagl* 'a goose', although possibly influenced by N. E. *to gaggle* (= N. H. G. *gackeln*, Dutch *gaggeln*).

N. E. *gig*, see p. 153.

N. E. *to nag*, N. E. dial. *naggle* vb. (Wall p. 133), but cf. Scand. *nagga* (Storm, Engl. Phil.[2] I p. 854 foot-note 2).

N. E. dial. *sprag* sb. 'spray, twig' (Wall p. 121), but Swed. dial. *spragge*, *sprag* (Rietz).

N. E. dial. *sug* 'a sow', Wyld l. c. p. 231; but cf. Swed. *sugga* 'a sow'.

N. E. *swag*, *swagger* : Norw. dial. *svaga* (Ross), but also *svagga*, cf. Westphalian *swacken* 'schwanken, wackeln' (Woeste).

The dialect of Windhill (Wright 102, cf. Luick, Anglia Anz. IV p. 165) has *dreəg* 'to drawl', *eəg* 'the berry of a hawthorn', *ig* (cf. O. E. *hyge* 'mind'), *neəg* 'to gnaw', *seəg* 'a saw'. The dialect of Blackburn (North Midl.), Ellis V, has *sage* 'a saw', *nage* 'to gnaw'. Some other instances are to be found in the list given by Wyld l. c. p. 229 ff., 258 f. I must postpone the treatment of this question till another opportunity.

[1]) *ɣ* in the M. E. adj. and adv. suffix *-liɣ* > *lī*, is no phonetic criterion of Scandinavian origin. There are early instances of the transition of O. E. *c* > *ɣ* (*h*) in unstressed syllables; cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 144 f., 196. Moreover the Scand. suffix *-ligr*, *-liga* cannot be explained through a Scand. phonetic change of *k* > *ɣ* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 192, Anm. 4), but is either due to analogy (Noreen l. c.) or to another Teutonic ground-form (**-liɣ-* < **-lih-*, owing to Verner's law); cf. Greek *πηλίκος*, *τηλίκος*, *ἡλιξ* (perhaps allied to O. Bulg. *lice* 'face', *zŭlolikŭ* 'malicious' given by Uhlenbeck s. v. *leiks*). Scand. *-liga*, if from a Teut. form **-liha*,

5. Scandinavian *ð* (*þ*).

Initial Teutonic *þ, ð* retained in O. W. Scandinavian, as a rule, their character of spirants (as a rule, they became both Scand. *ð*, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 223, 340), whereas in Old English Teutonic *ð* was represented by *d* (< W. Teut. *d*). In the loan-words from Scandinavian, the spirant was, as a rule, kept and is in some words a distinctive token of Scand. influence. In some loan-words, however, the Scandinavian spirant seems to have been superseded by the stopped sound. This stopped sound sometimes depends on the influence of native English words. In other cases the cause of the *d* is more or less obscure. The following cases of English *d* possibly from Scand. *ð* may be taken into consideration.[1])

M. E. *addlenn* Orrm., also M. E. *adilen, adil* Townl. M., Alex. (Sk.) etc., N. E. dial. *addle* (N. E. D., E. D. D.) vb. 'to earn, acquire': O. W. Scand. *ǫðlask* (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 8). At the time of the Danelag, the sound-combination *ðl* must have been very rare in English; in most cases Teutonic *þl* had early become *dl* (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 201, 3, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1006), and there seems to have been a sound-law in Middle English to change the few instances of *ðl* (as in compounds like *lǫð-lich*) into *dl* (cf. Kluge p. 1008). The sound-change of O. E., M. E. *ðm, ðn* > *dm, dn* (Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge IX p. 220 ff., Ags. Gramm.[3] § 201 Anm. 3, Kluge l. c.) is analogous to this change. *dd* in *addlenn* in the Orrmulum is therefore due to a sound-change analogous to that which has taken place in *maddmess* 'treasures, gifts' in the same monument.

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would be a doublet to the O. Swed. adv.-ending *-la* (< **liha*), as for which see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *arla*. — Although, from a mere phonological point of view, M. E. *-liȝ, -lī* may be accounted for by English sound-laws (cf. Sweet l. c. p. 196, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1059), it is probable that Scand. influence has greatly contributed to the frequency of the form. In fact, the local distribution of the suffix renders its Scandinavian origin practically unquestionable; cf. ten Brink, Ch. Gr. § 53, Morsbach, Schriftsprache p. 157.

[1]) The treatment of the spirant in the Scand. proper names introduced into English must be made the subject of a special examination. In the list given above p. 24 ff. there are instances of *ð* as well as of *d*.

O. E. *barda* 'rostrata navis' Wr. Voc. 289, 12 : O. W. Scand. *barði* 'a kind of ship', cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937.

M. E. *braid* sb. 'trick, deceit, stratagem' may, as far as its sense goes, have been to some extent influenced by O. W. Scand. *bragð*, O. Swed. *braghþ* (cf. N. E. D. s. v., Gerken, Dougl. p. 14, Skeat, Glossary to The Wars of Alexander), but its form rests entirely on O. E. *brægd*.]

M. E. *flærd* in the Orrmulum, *flerd* Misc. 14 (= Bestiary v. 452: *So was herodes fox and flerd*) seems to mean 'fraud, deceit; deceiver', and this sense agrees better with that of O. W. Scand. *flærð*, O. Swed. *flærþ*, O. Dan. *flerdh* than with that of O. E. *fleard* given by Sweet, Stud. A.-S. Dict., as meaning 'folly, superstition', which O. E. word, as far as the form of the word is concerned, would very well account for the M. E. word. But there is an O. E. *flearde* (in the Aldhelm Glosses, ed. by Bouterwek in Haupt's Zeitschrift IX p. 442) serving as the translation of Latin *fraude, vel deceptione vel opprobrio*, and this fact renders the derivation of M. E. *flærd* from Scandinavian superfluous, as this word is in all respects accounted for by the O. E. word. Moreover the adequate sense of M. E. *flærd* as well as, in some instances, of O. E. *fleard, ġefleard* sb., *fleardian* vb. cannot be considered fully settled. The view of the N. E. D., where the M. E. word is given as the continuation of the O. E. one and where both are translated by 'deceit, fraud, mockery', is probably right.[1])

O. E. *gladu* in the sentence *ær sunne gā to glade* Ben. R., M. E. *glade* Trev. (cf. N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *glade* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933) : O. W. Scand. *sólarglaðan* 'opening for the sun to shine through in clouds', Swed. dial. *solen gladas* 'the sun sets', Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *glad*. Scand. origin is by no means certain.

O. E. *heden* sb., see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933, Bosw.-Toller (cf. *hedclāþ* 'a chasuble'). Scand. origin is, for several reasons, questionable.

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[1]) It seems difficult to identify O. E. *fleard* as cognate with Scand. *flærð*, if the latter is, as is supposed by Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *flärd*, from a base **flaih* + an *r*-suffix, since the vowels would not then very well correspond. But it is difficult to find any other etymology of the word.

Late O. E. *hird* 'retinue, court' : O. W. Scand. *hirð*; but cf. *hīred* of which *hird* (*hīrd*), M. E. *hīrd, hĭrd* (Orrm. etc.) may be a contraction.

O. E. *hofding* 'a chief, captain', cf. p. 77 foot-note 2.

M. E. *kid,* N. E. *kid.*

O. E. *rōda,* see p. 68 f.

O. E. *sumor-lida* m. 'summer army of Danes (which does not winter in the country)' : O. W. Scand. *lið* n., *liði* m., cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934. *d* may be accounted for by O. E. *lid* 'ship', *lida* 'sailor'.

O. E. *ridesoht* : O. W. Scand. *riðusótt* etc., see Scand. *t(t)* < *ht.*

M. E. *stad* sb. 'position, status' : O. W. Scand. *staðr,* O. Swed. *staþer*; cf. O. E., M. E. *stede.*[1])

As for *ð* as a sign of Scand. influence, it is, in the first place, to be taken into account that, owing to Verner's law, *d* and *ð* are in O. E. often only different resultants of the same original Teutonic *þ.* Only when the Teutonic ground-form contained a *ð* which cannot have arisen from *þ* by this law, is Scandinavian influence fully certain as the cause of Engl. *ð*, provided that the *ð* cannot be accounted for by some sound-development of later dates (as for cases of Engl. *d* > *ð*, see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1009, Skeat, A Stud. Pastime p. 353). Instead of giving any abstract principles according to which *ð* in English is to be considered a sign of Scand. influence, it will be better to discuss every word separately.

For the sake of completeness, I give here also some loan-words in *ð* representing a Teut. *þ* and some more or less doubtful words. Words in which *ð* (*þ, th*) is, in my opinion, no criterion of Scand. influence are given within brackets, although doubtless most of them are, for other reasons, Scand. loan-words.

M. E. *baiþen* : O. W. Scand. *beiða* (= Goth. *baidjan,* O. E. *bēdan* 'to compel'), see p. 41.

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[1]) Most curious is the final *d* in M. E. *ded,* M. Sc. *deid,* N. E. dial. *dead* sb. 'death' (cf. Stratm.-Bradly, E. D. D.). It cannot, however, as has been supposed, depend on Scand. influence. Is *d* due to the influence of the adj.?

O. E. *barþ* 'light ship' Wr. Voc. 181, 29 : O. W. Scand. *barð* n. 'part of a ship', *barði* 'a sort of ship', cognate with O. E. *beard*, Germ. *Bart* etc. (see Tamm, Et. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *bard*, pl. *barder*).

M. E. *burþe, bürþe, byrþe*, N. E. *birth*, oldest quotation in N. E. D. from circ. 1200: O. W. Scand. *burðr*, O. Swed. *byrþ*, Dan. *byrd* (see Tamm s. v. *börd*). The native form is O. E. *ȝebyrd*, M. E. *ibürde, ibirde* (= O. Sax. *geburd*, O. Germ. *giburt*), and as the word in the West Teutonic languages points to a base **(ga)burdi-*, (there is, however, exceptionally, a Friesic *berthe* 'nativitas', see De Haan Hettema, Idioticon Frisicum p. 59, Richthofen, Altfries. Wb. p. 628), *þ* in M. E. *bürþe* etc., N. E. *birth*, is probably due to Scand. influence, although *d* in West Teutonic **(ga)burdi-* is from *þ* (cf. Sanskr. *bhṛti-*) and native forms in *þ* are therefore theoretically possible, and although related words, as O. E. *(ȝe)beorþor* etc. 'birth', may have influenced the O. E. word.

[M. E. *bōþe* 'booth, stall' Orrm., Pr. P. etc. : O. Swed. *bōþ*, Dan. *bod* (cf. Dial. Prov. p. 24). The Scand. *ð* is from Teut. *þ*.]

[M. E. *brāþ* 'angry' etc., see p. 68 f. *ð* in the Scand. word may be from Teut. *ð* quite as well as from Teut. *þ*, cf. O. H. G. *brādam* 'heat', *brātan* 'to roast', cf. Noreen, Sv. Etym. p. 9.]

M. E. *breiþen* 'to rush, run' A. P. II v. 1421 (: *wine breiþed uppe into his braine*) : O. W. Scand. *bregða* tr. 'to move quickly', O. Swed. *brœghþa* 'to turn, change, transform' (= O. E. *breȝdan*, M. E. *breiden*), cf. Knigge p. 56.

M. E. *brand-riþe* etc., see p. 63 foot-note.

[M. E. *forþ*, by-form of *ford* 'ford, vadum' is from a Teut. **forþo-*, see Kluge-Lutz, E. Et. s. v. There is no Scand. **forð*.]

[M. E. *froþe* sb. 'froth' Gaw., Pr. P., *froþen* vb. Ch., A. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *froða* (Dan. *fraade* is probably the same word, see Tamm s. v. *fradga*). Although the word is most probably from Scandinavian, it is doubtful whether *þ* is to be considered a criterion of loan, the Teutonic ground-form being uncertain.]

[M. E. *fullnaþ* 'fullness', see *livenað* further on].

M. E. *garþ*, N. E. dial. *garth* (= O. E. *ȝeard*, N. E. *yard*), see Scand. *g*, above.

M. E. *gerth*, N. E. *girth* (see above). The Teutonic base contained *ð* (> W. Teut. *d*).

M. E. *grezzþenn* vb., *greiþe* sb., *greiþ* adj. : O. W. Scand. *greiða* etc. (= O. E. *ȝerǣdan* vb., *ȝerǣde* adj.), see p. 43 f.

O. E. *grið* (Steenstrup p. 245 ff.), M. E. *griþ* sb. 'peace, truce', O. E. *griðian*, M. E. *griþien* vb. 'to make peace' : O. W. Scand. *grið*, O. Swed. *griþ*. Only in English and Scandinavian. The Teut. base of the Scand. *ð* was probably *đ*, cf. Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. VI p. 382, Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 28, Uhlenbeck s. v. *grids*.

[M. E. *hāð-ful* adj. 'scornful' O. E. Hom. I 279, *hǣþe-liȝ*, *hȩþelich* adj. 'contemptuous' Orrm., Trist. etc., *hǣþenn*, *hȩþen* vb. 'to mock, scorn' Orrm., Spec. 37, *hæþing*, *hȩþing* sb. 'scorn, contempt' Orrm., Ps., A. P., Hamp. Ps. etc. : O. W. Scand. *háð*, *hǽða*, O. Swed. *hāþ*, *hǣþa* etc.; the English words are undoubtedly Scand. loan-words, cf. p. 90. The base of *ð* is unknown.]

[O. E. *hæðen* 'mastruga' Wr. Voc. 450, 35, is probably from O. W. Scand. *heðinn* 'a fur coat', cf. *heden* above.]

M. E. *heþen(n)* adv. 'hence' Orrm., Pl. Cr., Hav., A. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *heðan*, O. Swed. *hæþan*. *ð* in the Scand. word was probably, according to Tamm s. v. *dädan*, from Teutonic *ð* (> W. Teut. *d*); according to Kluge, E. St. XX p. 234, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1021, Scand. *ð* in this word is due to the dissimilation of *-n-n-* > *-đ-n*, not occurring in English. See Scandinavian dissimilation. A third etymology of *-ðan* is given by Hirt, I. F. I p. 210 (= Greek *-θεν* in *οὐρανόθεν* etc.).

O. E. *hundrað* Lind. Gosp. (Cook, Glossary p. 119) 'hundred', M. E. *hundreth* A. P., Gaw. (Knigge p. 56), Pr. C. 4524, Man. (H.) 35, Minot (Scholle p. XVII) Ipom. 2236, 2238 etc.: O. W. Scand. *hundrað*, O. Swed. *hundraþ* (= O. E. *hundred*).

M. E. *hweþen*, *wheþen(n)*, *queþen* 'whence', contains the same *ð* as *heþen(n)*.

[M. E. *iþen* adj. 'diligent', *iþenly* adv. C. M., M. H., Barb. : O. W. Scand. *iðinn*, O. Swed. *iþin* 'industrious, diligent'. It is not settled whether the Teutonic ground-form contained *ð* or *þ*.]

[M. E. *quethe* sb., supposed by Knigge p. 56 to be due to

Scand. influence, depends on the influence of the verb *quethen*, O. E. *cweðan*, see Morsbach, Me. Gr. p. 152.]

[M. E. *laþe* sb. 'barn' Gen. and Ex., M. H. 146, Wr. Voc. 670, 24, Pr. P. etc., N. E. dial. *lathe* 'a barn' : O. W. Scand. *hlaða*, O. Swed. *laþa* 'barn', allied to O. E. *hladan* vb. 'to load, draw water', *hlæd* 'mound, pile; cf. O. W. Scand. *hlað, hlaði, hlaðr* 'pile, heap, receptacle, place into which something is received and in which it is contained', whence N. E. *lathe* 'a machine for turning wood etc.'. As there were Teutonic forms in *þ* as well as in *ð* (Teut. *þ* appears in Goth. *afhlaþan*, O. H. G. *ladan*), the Teutonic base of *ð* in Scand. *hlaða* is not quite certain.]

[M. E. *livenað, liveneð, lifnoð*, O. E. H. I 63, A. R. (often), H. M., Best., Ayenb. 'food, means of living' : O. W. Scand. *lifnaðr*, O. Swed. *lifnaþer* 'life, manner of life'. The suffix may be English quite as well as Scandinavian, see Kluge, Stammbildungslehre § 136 (concerning the Scand. suffix, see Tamm, Afledningsändelser hos svenska substantiv, Upsala 1897, p. 71 ff.). The Scandinavian origin of the word is questionable.]

[M. E. *lið* sb. 'fleet etc.', *liðsmann* 'sailor' (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934) : O. W. Scand. *ƚið* 'troop, assembly, help', O. Swed. *liþ* 'help', O. W. Scand. *liðsmaðr*. M. E. *liþ* Laȝ. 5213, Langl. P. Pl. B. XVI 181 may be the same word, although its sense is not fully settled. It is somewhat uncertain whether the Scand. *ð* is from Teutonic *ð* or *þ*; the word is allied to the verb, O. W. Scand. *líða* 'to go', O. E. *līðan* (prt. *lidon*, p. part. *ȝeliden*) and to the sb. O. E. *lid* 'ship' (= O. W. Scand. *lið* 'a ship'), *lida* 'sailor'. It seems probable that Scand. *lið* 'troop' is from the same Teutonic base as Scand. *lið*, O. E. *lid* 'ship', and, if it be so, *ð* is a distinctive mark of Scand. origin.]

[M. E. *līðen* 'to listen', N. E. dial. *to lithe*, see p. 115.]

[M. E. *nāþe*, see p. 91; *ð* is from Teut. *þ*.]

[O. E. *nīðing* sb. 'infamous man, villain', M. E. *nīðing* 'wretch, villain', O. E. *unnīðing* are generally considered Scand. loan-words (cf. Steenstrup p. 26 ff., Stevenson, Engl. Hist. Review 1887, April, p. 332, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934 f.). Doubtless they are so, but *ð* being from Teutonic *þ* is no criterion of loan; cf. O. E. *nīð* 'enmity'.]

M. E. *ōþ* adj. 'mad, furious' : O. W. Scand. *ōðr*, O. Swed. *ōþer* (= O. E. *wōd*, M. E. *wōd*), see later on.

O. E. *Ōðen* etc. (= O. E. *Wōden*), see later on.

[N. E. dial. *raths* 'ancient mounds or earth-works', see Wall p. 115. The *th* is not, as is assumed by Wall, distinctly Scandinavian, since it is uncertain whether it is from Teutonic *ð* or *þ*.]

M. E. *rāþ* sb. 'counsel, advice', *rāþen(n)*, *rǫthen* vb. 'to counsel', *wanndrāþ* 'suffering', is for other reasons distinctively Scand., see p. 91. The *ð* is also a distinctive Scandinavian sign, the forms of the word in Gothic and in West Teutonic pointing to a Teutonic *ð*.

M. E. *rauþ*, see p. 72.

[M. E. *scaþe* sb. 'injury, loss', *scaþen* vb. 'to injure, harm' etc. (cf. p. 123); *ð* is no criterion of loan.]

[O. E. *scegð*, *sceið* etc. 'a swift vessel' (see p. 38 f.). *ð* in the Scand. word is probably from Teut. *þ*, cf. Jessen, Et. Ordb. s. v. *ske* sb.]

[M. E. *slehþe* 'sleight, contrivance' : O. W. Scand. *slǿgð*, O. Swed. *slōghþ*. Suffix *-iþō*, see Tamm, Om fornnord. feminina på *ti* och på *iþa*, Upsala 1877, p. 35, Kluge, Stammbildungslehre § 121.]

[M. E. *slōþ* sb. 'track' Orrm., C. M., *sleuth* Barb., *sl(e)uthhund* Barb., Cath. Angl., N. E. *sleuth-hound* : O. W. Scand. *slóð* 'track or trail, way', Swed. dial. *slo* (< **slōð*), Rietz p. 627. Only in Scand. and English. The Teutonic base of the Scand. *ð* is unknown. It is probably a relic of some old suffix, cf. Tamm l. c. p. 47.]

[M. E. *sowwþ* 'sheep', see p. 72. O. W. Scand. *sauðr* (cf. Goth. *sauþs*) is allied to O. E. *sēoðan* 'to boil' etc., and *ð* is, no doubt, from Teut. *þ*.]

[M. E. *sparþe* sb. 'halberd' Gaw., Ch., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P. : O. W. Scand. *sparða* 'an Irish hatchet'. But the Scand. word may, itself, be a loan-word.]

M. E. *stith(e)*, *stepe* sb. 'anvil, stithy' : O. W. Scand. *steði*, O. Swed. *stæþi*, *stæþ* 'an anvil', allied to O. E. *stede*, N. E. *stead* etc., and in all probability from a Teutonic base containing *ð*.[1])

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[1]) The ending *y* in N. E. *stithy* probably depends on the Scand.

[M. E. *striþþe, striþe* sb. 'position of legs when placed firmly' Gaw. 846, 2305, influenced by O. W. Scand. *stríðr* 'hard, firm, stubborn, vehement, violent', Norw. dial. *strid,* O. Swed. *strīþer* (*ð* < Teut. *ð*)? Cf. N. E. dial. *strithe* 'to stride the legs', Halliw.]

M. E. *swarth*(*e*) sb. 'sward, skin' D. Arth. 1466, N. E. dial. *swarth* (Lincolnsh., Yorksh.) 'skin, rind, grass-land', Wall p. 123 : O. W. Scand. *svǫrðr* 'hairy skin, sward, grass-land', N. Swed. *svål* (**svard-*) (= O. E. *sweard,* N. H. G. *Schwarte,* Dutch *zwoord,* — see Kluge's and Franck's Dictionaries); *ð* in O. W. Scand. *svǫrðr* is, no doubt, from Teut. *ð.* Forms in *d* and *th* exist side by side in the same N. E. dialects, see Wall l. c. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1008, considers the M. E. word a Scand. loan-word.

[M. E. *swīþen* 'burn, light up' Ps., A. P. etc., *for-swīþen* 'burn up' A. R. (cf. N. E. dial. *swid, swidden, swither* 'to burn', Wall p. 123, O. W. Scand. *sviðna, sviðra*) : O. W. Scand. *svíða* 'to burn, singe, scorch', O. Swed. *swīþa,* Dan. *svide.* The Scand. *ð* is probably from Teutonic *þ.*]

[M. E. *taþen* 'stercoro' Pr. P. p. 487, N. E. dial. *tath* etc., Wall p. 124 : O. W. Scand. *tað,* Swed. dial. *tad* 'stercus', cf. O. W. Scand. *teðja* 'to manure'.]

[M. E. *teþren* vb. 'to tether' Th. Erceld. 437 (printed *teyr-*) : O. W. Scand. *tióðra* 'to tether', *tióðr* sb. 'a tether', O. Swed. *tiūþer,* early Dan. *tiudre,* Dan. *tøir.* There is also a M. E. *tedyre* 'ligatorium' Wr. Voc. 728, 1. It is doubtful whether *ð* in M. E. *teþren,* N. E. *tether* is original or from an earlier *d,* and it cannot be considered a criterion of loan. On the other hand, M. E. *tedyre* does not prove native origin (from a Teut. base **teuðra-* > W. Teut. **teudra-,* cf. O. H. G. *ziotar*; see Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 42), as *d* may be from an earlier *ð* owing to the sound-transition mentioned by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1008, cf. *brodyr* 'frater' Wr. Voc. 690, 12, *weder* 'aries' ib. 698, 27, *fedyre* 'pluma' ib. 703, 34, 742, 15 (< O. E. *feðer*), all in the same glossary where *tedyre* occurs.]

M. E. *tīþennde* sb. 'tidings' Orrm., *tiðindi* Laz., *tythande*

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cases with *j* + vowel in the ending, cf. *skerry* p. 124. It is to be noticed that the word, if native, would have contained *dd,* owing to the W. Teut. consonant gemination.

Sev. Sag. 3276 etc. : O. W. Scand. *tíðindi*, O. Swed. *tīþande*. Also M. E. *tiþing(e)* A. R., O. and N., R. Gl., A. P., Ip. etc. *ð* (*þ, th*) is a distinctive Scandinavian sign, and *d* in O. E. *tīdung* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 934), M. E. *tidinde* Laʒ., *tiding(e)* Laʒ., Gen. and Ex., Ip. etc., N. E. *tidings* is, no doubt, chiefly attributable to the influence of the native O. E., M. E. *tīd* (= O. H. G. *zīt* etc., containing Teutonic *ð*, W. Teut. *d*), O. E. *tīdan* vb. 'to happen', M. E. *tīden*, although the word (O. E. *tīdung* etc.) itself may partly be a thoroughly native formation (cf. M. L. G. *tīdinge*, Dutch *tijding*, N. H. G. *Zeitung* etc.).

[M. E. *waith* sb. 'hunting', see p. 52 f.]

[M. E. *wāþe, wǭþe* 'peril, hurt', see p. 94.]

N. E. dial. *wath* 'a ford' (Wall p. 126) : O. W. Scand. *vað*, O. Swed. *vaþ*, allied to O. E. *wadan* 'to go, advance, wade'; Scand. *ð* is from Teut. *ð*.

O. E. (or early M. E.) *þaþan* 'thence' (Kluge, Paul's Grundriss[2] I p. 934), M. E. *þeþen(n)* : O. W. Scand. *þaðan*, O. Swed. *þæþan*, see M. E. *heþen(n)*, *hweþen* above.

6. Scandinavian ʀ.

Teutonic final *-z* has in Scandinavian become *-ʀ* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 174), in historic times often appearing assimilated with a preceding consonant, but otherwise regularly represented by *r*. In English, the corresponding Teutonic sound had been prehistorically dropped (Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 182). Scand. *-ʀ* is to be found in the following loan-words in English:

Scandinavian nominatives in *-ʀ*, see p. 17 ff. Especially noteworthy is O. E. *þrăll*, M. E. *þrăll* etc., see p. 19.

M. E. *helder, hildire* 'rather, preferably' Gaw. 376, Sev. Sag. ed. Wright v. 1835, Alex. (Sk.) v. 4657, N. E. dial. *helder, eilder* 'rather', Wall p. 97, 106 : O. W. Scand. *heldr*, O. Swed. *hælder*, O. Dan. *helder* (= Goth. *haldis* < **haldiz*, O Sax. *hald*, O. H. G. *halt*, cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *halt*).

M. E. *sēr* adj. 'separate, several, particular' Orrm., Gaw. etc., *sēr-lepi* adj. 'separate, various', *sēr-liche* adv., *sērnes* sb., *sērte* sb. (see Stratm.-Bradley), N. E. dial. *ser* 'different, several, divers', Wall p. 74, 118 : O. W. Scand. *sér* (dative of the refl. pron. *sín*, acc. *sik*) 'separately, especially', *sérligr* adj., *sérliga*

adv., O. Swed. *sær*, *særlika* etc., Dan. *sær* adj. etc. The corresponding native form would have been O. E. **sē* (cf. O. E. *mē*, *ðē* = O. W. Scand. *mér*, *þér*).

7. Scandinavian consonant assimilation.

a) Scandinavian *dd*.

Teutonic *zð* is in Scandinavian represented by *dd*, in English, as a rule, by *rd*, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 208, Altschwed. Gramm. § 221 Anm. 2, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 181, 2, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 372, 1018. The instances of Scand. *dd* from Teut. *zð*, so far as occurring in Scand. loan-words, are:

M. E. *bred* in the adj. *bredful*, *bretful* (*t* < *d* owing to the following *f*) 'full to the brim' Trin. Coll. Hom. (O. E. H II) 167 (cf. N. E. D.), A. P., Langl. P. Pl., Ch. Prol. v. 687, Alex. (Sk.) etc.: O. Swed. *brædd(er)*, N. Swed. *brädd* 'margin, brink', N. Swed. *bräddfull* 'full to the brim', Norw. *bredd*, Dan. *bred* etc. (< Teut. **brezða-*, cf. Tamm, Etym. Sv. Ordb. s. v. *brädd*). The corresponding native form is O. E. *brerd*, *breord*, *brerdful* (Ælfr. Lives of Saints VI 282), M. E. *brerd*, *brerdful(l)*. The M. E. by-form *bratful* MS. of Langl. P. Pl. B. Prol. 41, may depend on Scand. *bradd* (Tamm l. c.), cognate to O. E. *breard*.

M. E. *brod(d)* 'shoot, sprout, spike, brad' Orrm. (cf. Brate p. 35), Pr. P. p. 53 ('clavus acephalus'), M. E. *broddenn* vb. 'to shoot, sprout' Orrm.,[1]) N. E. dial. *brod* sb. 'a goad, a short nail, an awl, a rod of pliant wood etc.', *brod* vb. 'to prick, pierce, goad, poke' (N. E. D.): O. W. Scand. *broddr* 'nail, spike, shaft, goad, point', O. Swed. *brodder*, *brudder* 'a brad or nail without a head', N. Swed. *brodd* 'first blade of grass, brad, nail' (= O. E. *brord* 'point, first blade of grass, young plant', M. E. *brurd*; Teut. base **brozða-*, **bruzða-*, cf. Tamm s. v. *brodd*). M. E., N. E. *brad* may either depend on a dialectal development of *ŏ* > *ă*, or is from Scand. *bradd* (< **brazda*, cf. Tamm s. v. *brädd*, *brodd*).

M. E. *gad(d)* 'a sharp spike of metal, a bar of metal, esp. of iron or steel, a pointed rod or stick, used for driving oxen,

[1]) Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict., gives an O. E. *broddian* 'to be luxuriant'; its relationship to M. E. *broddenn* etc. I cannot decide not knowing where it occurs. There is a N. E. dial. *broddle* 'to assume, swagger', E. D. D.

a measuring rod for land, etc.' (often difficult to distinguish from M. E. *gād* > N. E. *goad*, cf. N. E. D.) Kath. 1945 (*gadien*), Gen. and Ex. 3185, Hav. 279, D. Arth. 3621 (*gaddes*), Pr. P. etc., N. E. *gad* : O. W. Scand. *gaddr* 'goad, spike, sting', O. Swed. *gadder* etc. (= Goth. *gazds*, O. H. G. *gart*; O. E. *ȝierd, ȝyrd, ȝęrd* 'rod, twig', O. H. G. *gert(e)a*, N. H. G. *Gerte* etc. are probably not related, cf. Uhlenbeck s. v. *gazds*, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XIX p. 520, Zupitza, Germ. Gutt. p. 173).

M. E. *gedd(e)* sb. 'the pike or luce', first use about 1325 (see N. E. D.), Barb. Bruce II 576, N. E. dial. *ged* (Wall p. 102) : O. W. Scand. *gedda* 'a pike', Swed. *gädda*, Dan. *gjedde*, from Scand. *gaddr* (see Tamm s. v. *gadd*).

M. E. *od* sb. 'point, mucro' Man. (F.) 4614 : O. W. Scand. *oddr*, O. Swed. *odder, udder*, Dan. *od* (= O. E. *ord* 'point, spear', O. H. G. *ort*).

M. E. *odde* 'odd, unique, distinguished, special' A. P., Gaw., Alex. (Sk.), Pr. P. etc., N. E. *odd* : O. W. Scand. *oddi* sb. 'odds, quarrel, odd number', O. Swed. *odda, udda*, N. Swed. *udda tal* 'odd number'. Cf. preceding word.

b) Scandinavian *kk* < *nk*.

For this assimilation, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 207, 3, Altschw. Gramm. § 235, c. There are no instances known of this assimilation in the loan-words in Middle English; in the M. E. words in a primitive *nk* which may have been introduced from Scandinavian, *nk* is kept. In N. E. dialects there seem to be some cases of this assimilation, see Ellis V 14, Wall p. 61, 67, 97, Wright, Windhill § 368, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 6 foot-note 1. The only case in standard English would be N. E. *ruck* vb. 'wrinkle, crease', sb. 'wrinkle or plait', if from W. Scand. *hrukka* (Skeat, Et. D.).[1])

c) Scandinavian *ll*.

α) Teutonic *lþ* became English *ld* (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 201, 2) but was in Scandinavian early assimilated into *ll* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 215). An English *ll* corresponding to Teutonic *lþ*, therefore, proves Scandinavian influence.

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[1]) No instances are known to me of the Scand. assimilations *mp* > *pp*, *nt* > *tt* in the loan-words.

The cases are:

|M. E. *fell* sb. 'hill, mountain' C. M., Gaw. 723, Ant. Arth. I, D. Arth. 2489 etc., N. E. and dial. (Wall p. 99) *fell* 'a barren or stony hill': O. W. Scand. *fell, fjall,* O. Swed. *fiæll,* N. Swed. *fjäll,* Dan. *fjæld.* The Scandinavian word has by some scholars been identified with O. E. *feld,* N. E. *field,* Dutch *veld,* N. H. G. *Feld* (from a base **felþa-*), see Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *fjäll.* But it seems to me rather to be allied to N. H. G. *Felsen,* O. Sax. *felis* etc. in which case *ll* is from *lz* (> Scand. *lʀ* > *ll*), and this is the most current opinion (cf. Tamm l. c., Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 217, 2, b, Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Felsen*). In both cases Scand. origin is unquestionable.]

M. E. *hellen* vb. 'to pour out' Hamp. Ps. (often), Alex. (Sk.), Cath. Angl., Life of St. Cuthb. (Lessmann, E. St. XXIV p. 195), N. E. dial. *hell* 'to pour out' (Wall p. 106): O. W. Scand. *hella* 'to pour out (a liquid etc. by holding its receptacle in a slanting position)', O. Swed. *hælla* 'to put into a slanting position, bend aside, incline, to pour out' from the adj. O. W. Scand. *hallr* 'inclined, slanting, sloping' (= O. E. *hieldan* 'to bend, incline, bend down', M. E. *helden* 'to incline, bend aside, pour', O. H. G. *heldan* etc.).

M. E. *will* 'bewildered, having lost one's way, lost in error, uncertain' Gen. and Ex., Hav., Rel. I 209, Isum., Barb., Alex. (Sk.), N. E. dial. *will* 'astray' (Wall p. 110, 127): O. W. Scand. *villr* 'astray, bewildered', O. Swed. *vilder* (< **villr*), N. Swed. *vill* in the phrase *fara vill* 'to go astray', *râd-vill* (and other compounds, cf. N. Swed. *villa* sb. 'error'), early Dan. *vill* etc. (= Goth. *wilþeis,* O. E. *wilde, wild* 'untamed', M. E. *wilde,* N. H. G. *wild* etc.). In compounds like *wildrēm* sb. 'delusive dream', *wilgate* sb. 'going astray', *wilsom* 'dubious' (cf. O. W. Scand. *villusamr,* O. Swed. *vilsamber*) the first member is probably the Scand. word as showing the typical Scandinavian sense, although it may, as far as the form goes, be from the O. E. word with the loss of *d* between two consonants (cf. O. E. *wildēor, wilder* < *wilddēor*).

β) The Scandinavian sound-transition of *lʀ* (< *lz*) into *ll* (such a sound-change occurs also in O. E., Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 180), is represented by O. E. *þrĕll,* M. E. *þrall, þrell, þrill*

(see p. 19 and foot-note 2) and possibly by M. E. *fell* 'hill, mountain', N. E. *fell*, see above.

γ) The Scandinavian change of *ðl* into *ll* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 210, 4, Altschwed. Gramm. § 285, 3) is, no doubt, represented by M. E. *ā mel(le)*, *ī melle*, *ē melle*, N. E. dial. *a mell* etc. (Wall p. 89, 112, N. E. D.) : O. Dan. *mellum*, *mællin*, *melle*, O. Swed. *mællum* etc., N. Swed. *emellan*, *imellan*.[1]) Taken by itself, *ll* is here hardly to be considered an absolutely reliable loan-word test, as there seem to be some instances of M. E. *ll* from *ðl* in native words (cf. p. 104 footnote 3).

δ) M. E. *ille* adj. 'evil, bad', Orrm., O. E. Hom., Gen. and Ex. etc., *ille* adv. Orrm., Hav. etc., *illen* vb. 'to make, become evil, to do harm to' : O. W. Scand. *íllr*, *illr* adj., O. Swed. *ilder*, *ilder* adj., O. W. Scand. *illa*, *illa* adj., O. Swed. *illa*, *illa* adv., early Dan. *ill* adj., Dan. *ilde* adv. *ll* in this typical Scand. loan-word is a test of Scandinavian introduction, provided that the etymology of the word given by Kock, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. XL p. 199 ff., is right.

d) Scandinavian *nn*.

α) Teutonic *np* became English *þ* (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 186), whereas it was assimilated into *nn* in Scandinavian (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 215). Scandinavian *nn* (< *np*) occurs in the following loan-words:

O. E. nom. pr. in *Gunn-* (= O. E. *ȝūþ* 'war, battle'), see Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 937.

M. E. *minne* sb. 'memory, remembrance' C. M. 8835. Mir. Pl. 1965, M. E. *minnen* vb. 'to have in mind, remember', C. M., Gaw., A. P. etc., *minning* 'memory' C. M. : O. W. Scand. *minni*, *minning* sb., *minna*, *minnask*, O. Swed. *minnas* etc. In the Scandinavian words, *nn* is from *np*, cf. Goth. *gaminþi* sb.; in pret. *minta* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 444) *t* is due to the *nn* from Teut. *np* being originally unvoiced (Noreen l. c. § 183, 2, b). But the verb *minnen* is very often difficult to distinguish from M. E. *münnen* (*münien*), see Stratm.-Bradley. Dubious is *minepþ* Orrm. (Brate p. 51).

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[1]) The *e*-vowel in M. E. *ā mell* etc. is probably distinctively East Scandinavian, cf. Dial. Prov. p. 25.

N. E. dial. *mun* sb. 'mouth' (Wall p. 112) : O. W. Scand. *munnr* (*muðr*, Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 201), O. Swed. *munder* (< **munnr*), early Dan. *mun(n)*, Swed. *mun*, Dan. *Mund* (= O. E. *mūþ*, N. E. *mouth*).

M. E. *sannen* 'to maintain, prove, demonstrate' Orrm. v. 11289, Böddeker, Ae. Dicht. W. L. I 29 : O. W. Scand. *sanna*, O. Swed. *sanna* etc. 'to prove'. The native development is shown by O. E. *sōþ* 'true' (< **sanþa-*), *sēþan* 'to assert, prove' (< **sanþian*).

O. E. *scinn*, M. E. *skin(n)*, see p. 127. *nn* is from *nþ*, see Lidén, Bezz. Beitr. XXI p. 95, 117.

β) The regular development of Teutonic *zn* in English is somewhat uncertain, cf. Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beitr. XVIII p. 409, Brugmann, Grundr. d. vergl. Gramm.[2] I p. 779, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1018, Franck, Et. Wb. s. v. *tweern*. In Scandinavian, Teut. *zn* is represented by *nn* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 208). Owing to the uncertainty of the question as to the regular development of Teut. *zn* in English, an English *nn*, supposed to represent a Teutonic *zn*, is not, taken by itself, a reliable criterion of Scandinavian influence. The material to be taken into consideration is very scanty.

M. E. *ransaken* Ps., Gen. and Ex., Ch., etc., N. E. *to ransack* : O. W. Scand. *rann-saka*, O. Swed. *ransaka*, *ranzaka* 'to search (a house), investigate, etc.', cf. O. W. Scand. *rann* 'house' (= Goth. *razn*, O. E. *ærn*).

O. E. *twinn* (Haupt's Zeitschrift IX p. 467) 'double', *ȝetwyn* 'geminus', *ȝetwinnas* 'twins' (see Bosw.-Toller), M. E. *twinn(e)* 'two, double' Orrm., Gen. and Ex., Rel. I 218 etc., *twinn(e)* 'geminus' Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Scand. *tvinnr* 'double', O. Swed. *twinni* (cf. Brate p. 78). *nn* in the Scand. word is considered by Brate l. c., Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 208, Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 118 to be from *zn*. But not even this is certain, cf. O. H. G. *zwinelinc*, M. E. *twinling*. O. E. *ȝetwinn*, M. E. *twinn(e)* 'a twin' is probably native; the adjective (originally a different word-stem?) may, very likely, be from Scandinavian.

M. E. *twinnen*, *a-twinnen*, *to-twinnen* vb. 'to separate, divide', *twinnunge* 'separation', cf. prec. word.

O. E. *þrinna* acc. pl. m. (: *mid þrinna* XII) in the Laws of King Æthelred (see Steenstrup, Danelag p. 235 foot-note, Bosw.-Toller s. v.), M. E. *þrinn(e)* 'threefold, triple, three' Orrm., Hav., M. H. : O. W. Scand. *þrinnr,* O. Dan. *thrynnæ,* O. Swed. *þrinni.* Cf. prec. words, Brate l. c., Noreen l. c., Sievers, Paul and Braune's Beiträge IX p. 269, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 329 Anm. 2, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 935. The word is, most likely, from Scandinavian.

γ) The Scandinavian sound-change of *nnʀ* into *nn* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 217, 4, b) is represented by M. E. *minne* adj. 'lesser' Ps., Gaw., Flor. etc. [*min* adv. 'less' L. C. C. 22] : O. W. Scand. *minni* adj., O. Swed. *minne* adj., *minna, minne* adv. (= Goth. *minniza,* O. H. G. *minniro*), cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 938. But the adv. M. E. *min* may either be from O. W. Scand. *minnr* etc. (Noreen § 372) or may, as far as the form goes, be a native word corresponding to Goth. *mins,* O. H. G., M. H. G. *min.* Although the Scand. origin, at least, of M. E. *minne* 'lesser' seems to be beyond any doubt, as occurring only in texts, which show numerous traces of Scand. origin, the question of *nn* as a criterion cannot be settled, until the O. E. *min,* n. pl. *minne* 'small, mean, vile' (Bosw.-Toller, Sweet, A. S. Dict.) has been fully cleared up.

e) Scandinavian *tt* (*t*) < Teut. *ht.*

Teutonic *ht* remains in O. E. In Scandinavian it was assimilated into *tt*; under some circumstances it seems to have become *t,* see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] 209, Altschwed. Gramm. § 233. In some loan-words Scand. *ht* remains, as in O. E. *Ohtor,* M. E. *ha(ug)hte* 'peril' (see p. 99), possibly in O. E., M. E. *saht* etc. (see p. 100), M. E. *dra(ug)hte, sla(ug)hter* etc., (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 936) perhaps owing to earlier introduction, or owing to the influence of some Scand. dialects in which *ht* may have remained longer (cf. Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 233, Anm. 2). *ht* in Scand. loan-words is, of course, no criterion of loan. But in some loan-words, Teut. *ht* is represented by *tt, t,* and these words are distinctively Scand.

M. E. *atl(i)en, attlen, attelen, etlen* vb. 'to think, esteem, purpose, tend, aim, arrange, set out' Laʒ., O. E. Hom., Gaw., D. Troy, Alex. (Sk.) etc., *etlunge* sb. 'estimation' H. M., O. E.

Hom. I 263 (= Sawles Warde), N. E. dial. *ettle, eckle* (N. E. D): O. W. Scand. *ætla* 'to think, guess, conjecture, esteem, aim, intend, decide etc.', O. Swed. *ætla* (< **ahtilōn*). M. E. forms in *ht* may depend on the influence of native words like O. E. *eahtian* 'to deliberate, consider', *ȝeeahtle* sb. 'esteem', or — and this I consider more likely — are to be explained in the same way as M. E. *ha(ug)hte* etc., above.

[O. E. *ȝeatan* 'to grant', M. E. *ȝaten, ȝetten* etc. (cf. p. 109) : O. W. Scand. *játa, játta,* O. Swed. *iata, iatta,* early Dan. *iate, iætte*; *tt* in *játta* need not necessarily depend on *ht,* cf. Lidén, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. III p. 238 ff., Hellquist ib. VII p. 55 foot-note 2, XIV p. 37. *tt* in M. E. *ȝetten* etc. is no criterion of loan, especially as it would be easily accounted for by the explanation given p. 109 foot-note 1 or by assuming a Teutonic base in *-atjan,* cf. M. E. *naiten* 'to say no' (p. 48) : O. W. Scand. *neita,* Hellquist, Ark. XIV p. 142.]

M. E. *gāte-* in *gāte-lāes* 'without care', Orrm. 6190,[1]) *gęte* 'heed, attention' Frag. Ælfr. Gramm. 6, M. E. *gātenn, gęten* ‚guard, keep, take care of' Orrm., A. R., C. M., Hav., R. Brunne, Barb. etc., *gęter* (an English formation from *gęten*) sb. 'keeper, guardian' D. Troy, *gętenlike* adv. 'diligently' O. E. Hom. II 121 : O. W. Scand. *gæta* vb. 'to take care of, guard, keep', *gæta* sb. 'heed, attention', *gætinn* adj. 'careful', O. Swed. *gāta* (perhaps a loan-word from O. W. Scand., see Söderwall), Swed. dial. *gęta.* O. W. Scand. *gæta* possibly depends on two different stems, both containing *ht,* see Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. III p. 16, Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 32, Kock, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. XIII p. 164.

[M. E. *kēte* 'brave, strong, joyful',[2]) *dōm-kēte* 'swift of judgment', *kētly* 'quickly', according to Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 939, is from a Scand. **kætr,* an *i*-mutated by-form of O. W. Scand. *kátr* 'glad, joyful', O. Swed. *kāter* 'glad, joyful, licentious, dissolute, wanton, lustful', Dan. *kaad* (cf. O. W. Scand.

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[1]) Cf. N. E. dial. *gatless* 'half-witted, shiftless', Wall p. 101, perhaps from M. E. **gāt-læs* (cf. Icel. *gát* 'cura', Noreen, Sv. Etymologier p. 74), *ă* probably depending on shortening before the consonant group *tl.*

[2]) The sense is not quite obvious, and various translations of the word are given by scholars. Skeat, Glossary to Langl. P. Pl., translates the word by 'intelligent, sharp'.

kæti f. 'joy', *kæta* vb. 'to make glad, cheer', Norw. dial. *kjæta, -e* sb., *kjæta* vb., *kjætefull* adj., *kjæten* adj., O. Swed. *kæte* sb., Swed. dial. *käta* sb., *käta* vb.). The Scand. words have been assumed by Noreen, Ark. f. Nord. Fil. III p. 17 ff. to rest on a base **gaha[n]ht-*. Wadstein, Ind. Forsch. V p. 2 foot-note, refers the words to Swed. dial. *kång*, according to which etymology we should have to assume the groundform of *kátr* etc. to have likewise contained *-a[n]ht-*. Although neither of these etymologies is fully evident, the Swed. dial. *kât, käta* vb. with nasal *å, ä* (cf. Noreen l. c., Sv. Landsm. IV, 2 p. 108, 110), render it probable, that the base of the Scand. words contained *-a[n]ht-*.[1]) — But as no Scand. **kætr* is recorded, I am not quite sure that the Engl. word is connected with the Scandinavian ones. — There is a Swed. dial. *katig, katug* 'vigourous, bold, hardy, valiant' (Rietz), the source and history of which is obscure. Is M. E. *kete* connected with this word?]

M. E. *sīt(e)* sb. 'grief, sorrow, pain, ailment' Orrm., C. M., Ant. Arth., Alex. (Sk.) etc., *sīten* vb. 'to be sorrowful, anxious' C. M. 11675 : O. W. Scand. *sýta* vb. 'to afflict; to regret, to grieve at, to lament, to take care (of)', O. Swed. *sȳta* 'to take care (of)', O. W. Scand. *sýtiligr* 'sorrowful', *sýting* sb. 'grief, sorrow', *sýtning* sb. 'care, attendance', all formed from the Teut. sb.-stem **suht-* (= Goth. *saúhts*, Germ. *Sucht*, Dutch *zucht*); cf. O. W. Scand. *sút* 'grief, sorrow, illness', a by-form of O. W. Scand. *sōt(t)*, O. Swed. *sōt* 'illness' (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 55, Anm. 3, 209, Anm. 1, Torp-Falk, Dansk-Norskens Lydhistorie p. 131). The *ī*-vowel in M. E. *sīt(e)* sb. either depends on a Scand. by-form **sýt*[2]) (cf. Brate p. 56, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1043) or on the influence of the verb.[3]) No

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[1]) In some cases the Swed. dialectal nasal vowel depends on analogical formations (cf. Noreen, Ark. III p. 21 f.) and does not always prove the words in which it occurs to be from a base containing a nasal consonant.

[2]) Aasen gives a Norw. dial. *syt* f. 'care, attendance'; cf. Swed. dial. *syta* sb. 'care, attendance, trouble'.

[3]) *ý* in O. W. Scand. *sýta*, O. Swed. *sȳta* vb. is quite regular, see Noreen, Altschwed. Gramm. § 84, 2, a (from a base **suhtian*). *ū* in *sút* probably depends on the generalisation of *ŭ* (regular before *-hti-*), by means of which generalisation *ŭ* superseded *ŏ* (regular when no *i, j* followed). This generalisation must have taken place before the time of

corresponding native word of this root seems to be found in O. E., as O. E. *suht* 'illness' is probably from O. Saxon (cf. Bosw.-Toller s. v., Sweet, Stud. A. S. Dict. s. v.) and O. E. *ridesoht* 'fever' (R.[2]) is probably from O. W. Scand. *riðusótt*, O. Dan. *rithæsott* (Harpestrengs Lægebog, ed. Molbech), O. Swed. *ridhusōt* 'febres tertianæ' (Söderwall), introduced into English, before the time of the assimilation of *ht* > *t*(*t*). M. E. *soght* 'sickness' C. M., therefore, is probably a loan-word from Scandinavian, as is also *soht* in M. E. *galousought* 'jaundice' (Halliwell p. 950), M. E. *gulsoght* 'jaundice' (Cath. Angl. p. 168), *golsoght* (Halliwell p. 409), cf. O. Swed. *gulasōt*, *golasōt*. The first member *gul-*, *gol-* (O. W. Scand. *gulr*, O. Swed., Dan. *gul*) in the M. E. compound *gulsoght*, *golsoght* also speaks for the Scand. introduction of *-soght* in this compound, as representing the typical Scand. ablaut of this adj. (cf. Germ. *gelb*, Engl. *yellow*).

8. Scandinavian consonant dissimilation.

a) Teutonic *mn* became in prehistoric Scandinavian times *ƀn* (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 181, Altschwed. Gramm. § 226); this *ƀn* (written *fn* in O. W. Scand.) changed to *mn* again in several Scand. dialects (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 183, 2, Altschwed. Gramm. § 256, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 583).

Scand. *ƀn* < Teut. *mn* appears in M. E. *nevenen* 'to name, call, tell' Gaw., A. P. (Knigge p. 85), Alex. (Sk.), D. Troy etc. : O. W. Scand. *nefna*, O. Swed. *næfna*, *næm*(*p*)*na* etc. (= O. E. *nemnan*, M. E. *nemnen*), cf. Arch. CI p. 394 foot-note 6, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 940.

b) Analogous is the Scand. sound-change of *mn* > *ȝn* which I have assumed in Arch. CI p. 934 f. to have taken place in M. E. *drūnen* C. M., A. P., Barb. etc., N. E. *to drown* from a Scand. **druȝna* < **druna* < *drunkna*.[1])

c) Concerning the possible Scandinavian dissimilation of *-n-n* > *-ð-n* in M. E. *heþen*, *hweþen*, *þaþan*, *þeþen*, see above.

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the *i*-mutation. An analogical (prehistoric Scand.) **suht-* (with *u* from **suhti-*) became *sút*(*t*) and the regular **soht-* became *sót*(*t*).

[1]) Professor Skeat, Tr. Phil. Soc. 1899 p. 271, differs somewhat from this explanation of mine but now kindly informs me that he fully agrees with my view. — *u* in Scand. *drukna* (< *drukkna* < *drunkna*) was decidedly

9. Scandinavian loss of consonant.

a) Initially.

α) Scand. *w* (*u̯*) was dropped, in prehistorical times, before *ŏ, ŭ, ÿ, ō̆, l* and before *r* when one of the vowels mentioned followed (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 228, 1).[1]) In O. E., *w* was kept in these positions; before vowels O. E. *w*, as a rule, has remained up to the present time, and before *l, r* it seems to have remained — at least in the spelling — throughout the whole M. E. period, although, before *l*, it may actually have been dropped earlier in the pronunciation (cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I

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short. It is therefore erroneous to derive from this word — as has very often been done — the early Mod. E. *drouk, drook* 'to drench as with heavy rain, to drip with moisture, to drizzle', (see N. E. D., Cent. D., E. D. D.), M. E. *droukening* 'a slumbering, slumber, doze' (Deb. of Body and Soul 1, 1: *Als I lay in a winteris nyht in a droukening before the day*, L. H. R.), M. E. *droukynge* in the Pr. P. (translated by 'latitatio', probably meaning 'drooping' or 'crouching, cowering'). It must be noted that two of the MSS. of Deb. of Body and Soul offer the reading *droup(e)ning* in the passage in question and that one MS. of the Pr. P. offers the reading *drowpynge*. I hold *droukening* to be from *droup(e)ning*; a change of *pn* > *kn* is by no means without analogies (cf. p. 129 f., Zupitza, German. Gutt. p. 19, Brugmann, Vergl. Gramm.[2] p. 521). The word is formed with an *n*-suffix from the stem *drūp-* (found in the verb *drūpen* 'to droop, to hang or sink down, as from weariness or exhaustion, to go down, descend, to become dejected, dispirited, etc.', and in the adj. *drūp* 'drooping') from Scand. *drūpa* 'to droop, drip' (cf. O. W. Scand. *driúpa*, Swed. *drypa* 'to drip, let in rain'). The words without the *n*-suffix (N. E. *drouk, drook*, M. E. *droukynge*) may depend on the subsequent loss of the same, owing to the analogy of the numerous word-stems in which there was a change of forms with and without the *n*-suffix (*e. g. drūpnen* : *drūpen* = *drūknen* : *x* [= *drūken*], cf. M. E. *sloken*, p. 16). As for the sense of N. E. (obs. and dial.) *drouk, drook*, the numerous related words in the Teutonic languages with a similar sense-development are to be compared. I may here mention O. E. *drīepan* (< **draupian*) 'to let drop, to cause to fall in drops', but also 'to moisten, to wet with drops', M. E. *dropen* 'to let fall, to sprinkle with drops'. This supposition is supported by the early N. E. and dial. to *drowk* 'to droop as a flower or plant' N. E. D. (which is ultimately the same word as *drouk* 'to drench') and by N. E. dial. *droup, droop* 'to drench' (E. D. D.).

[1]) Scand. medial loss of *w* is found in M. E. *sister*, cf. p. 117 f. and Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 71, 7, 244. M. E. *hōsten* 'to cough', *hōten* (cf. O. E. *hwōstan*, Goth. *hwōta*) need not be explained as Scand., cf. Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1019.

p. 1020); *wr* remains in the pronunciation during some part of the Mod. E. period, cf. Sweet, H. E. S. p. 268. The loss of *w* in these positions is a distinctive Scandinavian sign.

M. E. *ēpeþþ* vb. 3. pres. sg. 'cries, calls' Orrm. (cf. Brate p. 40) : O. W. Scand. *ópa*, O. Dan. *ōpæ*, Dan. dial. *øbe* (Kok, Danske Folksprog i Sønderjylland I p. 426), O. Swed. *ōpa* (= O. E. *wēpan*, M. E. *wēpen*, Goth. *wōpjan*).

M. E. *leȝȝtenn* Orrm., *laiten* : O. W. Scand. *leita*, O. Swed. *lēta* etc. (= O. E. *wlātian*), see p. 47.

M. E. *lipsen, lispen* vb. 'to lisp' Ch., Pr. P. : Norw. dial. *lespa* (Aasen), O. Swed. *læspa*, Dan. *læspe, lespe* (cf. O. E. *wlisp, wlips* adj. 'lisping', M. L. G. *wlispen, wlispeln* (Lübben), M. E. *wlispen*, Barb.). In the MSS. of Chaucer's works, O. E. *wl-* seems to have remained (cf. *wlatsome* Nonne Preestes T. v. 233, Monkes Tale v. 634); *lispen* may therefore here be due to the Scand. word. In Pr. P. there is no material to show whether in the dialect represented by this text *w* had been dropped or not. M. E. *lispen, lipsen*, also when occurring in Ch., is generally held to be of native origin.

M. E. *lit* 'colour' Gen. and Ex., Spec. 36, *littis* (pl.) Alex. (Sk.) : O. W. Scand. *litr* 'colour, appearance', O. Swed. *liter* 'countenance, appearance, colour, complexion' (= O. E. *wlite* 'brightness, beauty, appearance, form', M. E. *wlite* 'face, form, beauty' Orrm., Gen. and Ex. 2288 etc., Goth. *wlits* 'face'). In the texts in which the word *lit* occurs, *wl-* is preserved in native words.

M. E. *liten* 'to dye, tingo' A. R., Kath., Ps., Hamp. Ps., D. Troy., Pr. P., Cath. Angl., der. M. E. *litestere, listare* Ch., Pr. P. etc.: O. W. Scand., O. Swed. *lita* 'to dye'; cf. prec. word. In most text where the M. E. word occurs, *l* is a distinctive Scand. sign.

[M. E. *littnenn* Orrm. v. 6115 seems to mean 'look, belong, respiciunt'[1]) and may be a formation with an *n*-suffix from

[1]) M. E. *littenen* Hav. 2700 no doubt means 'to diminish' (: *Hwan Hauelok saw his folk so brittene and his ferd so swipe littene, He cam driuende upon a stede*); it is formed either from M. E. *lite* 'small', or from East Scand. *liten* 'small'. The etymology, given by Mätzner, cannot be right.

O. W. Scand. *líta* (= O. E. *wlītan*). Brate p. 49, objects to this explanation of the word, because he thinks that we should then have to expect an initial *wl-*. As is shown by the preceding material, this objection is erroneous. But nevertheless I do not consider the etymology unquestionable.]

M. E. *oker* 'usury' A. R., Ps., Cath. Angl. etc., *okeren* vb. 'to increase by usury', etc. (see Stratm.-Bradley): O. W. Scand. *okr* sb. 'rent, interest', O. Swed. *oker* sb. 'interest, usury', *okra* vb. 'to acquire by usury, to lend money at an illegal rate of interest', Dan. *aager* sb. (< O. Dan. **oker*) 'usury' (= O. E. *wōcor*, Goth. *wōkrs*, O. H. G. *wuohhar*, etc.).

O. E. nom. pr. *Orm, Orm-, Urm, Vrm*[1]) (cf. p. 27 f.), M. E. nom. pr. *Or(r)m, Orrmīn, Ormsbī* etc. : O. W. Scand. *Ormr* (n. pr.), O. Swed. *ormber*, Dan. *Orm* (= O. E. *wyrm, wurm*, Goth. *waúrms*, O. H. G. *wurm*, O. Sax. *wurm*).

M. E. *ōþ* adj. 'mad, furious' Hav. 2009, Pr. P. 215, 372, 531 : O. W. Scand. *óðr*, O. Swed. *ōþer* (= O. E. *wōd*, M. E. *wōd*, Goth. *wōds* (*wōþs*), O. H. G. *wuot* etc.), cf. above.

O. E. *Ōðen, Ōðon* etc. (see p. 27) : O. W. Scand. *Óðinn*, O. Swed. *Ōþin* (= O. E. *Wōden*).

O. E. *Ulf, Vlf, Ulf-* (see p. 28) : O. W. Scand. *Ulfr*, O. Swed. *Ulver* (= O. E. *wulf*, M. E. *wulf*, O. H. G. *wulf*, Urnord. *-wulafʀ, -wolafʀ* etc.).[2])

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[1]) The *u*-vowel in *Urm, Vrm* is worthy of notice and seems to support the opinions concerning the *a*-mutation held by Kock, Paul and Braune's Beiträge XXIII. In this connection I take the opportunity of offering a few remarks on the stem-vowel in M. E. *bule, bole*. M. E. *bule* is undoubtedly from East-Scand. *bule* (cf. Luick, Unters. p. 287, Björkman, Dial. Prov. p. 24), M. E. *bole* in many cases represents East Scand. *bule* but may, theoretically, in some cases be from O. W. Scand. *boli*. In fact, the rime *bole* : *hole* Hav. 2438 (if *hole* does not denote **hule*; cf. O. Swed. *hula, hul*, O. Dan. *hule, hul*) seems to prove the existence of a M. E. *bǫ̂le*. Luick l. c., Arch. CIII p. 75 foot-note, seems inclined to reject this latter possibility.

[2]) As for the presumed loss of Scand. *w* in O. E., M. E. *rōt, runkel*, see Dial. Prov. p. 23 and foot-note 2. As I do not consider it quite certain that the Teutonic ground-form of these words contained *wr-*, I do not give them as distinctively Scandinavian in form. Still O. Scand. *rōt* is very likely from **wrōt-*, cf. Kluge-Lutz s. v. *root*.

β) Scand. *j* (*i*) was dropped initially before historic times, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 175. This Scand. sound-transition is represented by N. E. dial. *oast* sb. 'fresh curdle for cheese' (Wall p. 113): O. W. Scand. *ostr*, Swed. *ost*, cf. Finnish *juusto*, a loan-word from Scand.

b) Medially and finally.

In Scandinavian *n* was dropped before *r*, see Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 239, 3. In English *nr* remained.[1])

O. E. *þūr*, *þōr*, *þūr-*, *þōr-*[2]) (see p. 27 f.), *þūresdæȝ*, M. E. *þurrsdaȝȝ*, *þursdai*, *þursdei*, *þorsdai*, N. E. *Thursday* : O. W. Scand. *þórr*, *þórsdagr*, O. Swed. *þōr*, *þōrsdagher*, O. Dan. *Thōr*, *Thūr*, etc. (= O. E. *þunor*, *þunresdæȝ*, M. E. *þuner*, *þunresdai* N. E. *thunder*). Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] p. 1022 (cf. ib. p. 1057), assumes the loss of *n* in O. E. *þūresdæȝ*, M. E. *þursdai* to depend on an English sound-law and compares the word with M. E. *mīre* < *mīnre*, *þīre* < *þīnre*. But these cases are not analogous as the loss of *n* here depended on these words being usually or often weakly stressed,[3]) which was not the case with the first member of the O. E., M. E. compound, *þūresdæȝ*, *þunresdai*, *þursdai*. Concerning the change of *ū* and *ō* in *þūr*, *þōr*, see Dial. Prov. p. 25; cf. Kock, Ark. f. nord. fil. XV p. 327 ff.

The consonant loss in such words as N. E. dial. *awned* (cf. Scand. *auðna*, see p. 80) 'ordained', O. E. *fēolaȝa*, M. E. *fēlaȝe*, M. E. *nowcin* (cf. O. W. Scand. *nauðsyn*, see p. 71) 'necessity, want', M. E. *þarrnenn* (cf. Scand. *þarfna*, *þarna*) 'to lack, need', O. E. *þrēl* (< **þrahila-*), etc., is in accordance with English as well as with Scandinavian sound-laws, and does not offer any criterion of Scand. origin.

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[1]) Loss of *n* was, in some other cases, common to English and Scandinavian and is consequently no criterion of loan in the loan-words in which it has taken place. Some cases in which the loss of *n* had another influence on the preceding vowel in Scand. than in English have been treated of above p. 98 ff., 113 f.

[2]) The vowel *ō* in O. E. *þōr*, *þōr-* is distinctly Scandinavian, see p. 114.

[3]) The loss of *n* was here somewhat analogous to that in M. E. *o*, *i* (< *on*, *in*), p. 101. *mīre* is from *mīnre* (not from **mĭnre*, **min(d)re*), in which *ī* depends on analogy; cf. *ǭre* < *ǭnre* < *ānre*.

Worthy of notice is the loss of *h* in O. E. *hā* < **ha(n)h-*, see p. 99, M. E. *spā* (< **spāh-*, see p. 93), *wrā* (< **wra(n)h-*, see p. 100),[1]) whereas Scand. *h* is kept in O. E., M. E. *þoh*, cf. p. 74 above. Although this may depend on the earlier introduction of this word, it is to be noticed that *-h* in *þoh* did not occupy a position quite analogous to that of *h* in the other words. *h* in Scand. **þōh* was always final (Scand. *h* seems to have been kept longer finally than medially); in the other words *h* could only have been final in some cases and this only provided that the Scand. loss of *h* took place later than the syncope of the following vowel (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 130, 234). And — on the other hand — if *h* was kept at the time of the introduction of the words *hā, spā* etc. (which I consider very doubtful), the loss of *h* in the M. E. words would be easily accounted for by English sound-laws (Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 218).[2])

Scandinavian *w* has been dropped in M. E. *blā, blǭ* (see p. 82 foot-note), M. E. *fā fǭ* (see p. 102), M. E. *grā, grǭ* (see p. 89) and perhaps in M. E. *þrā* (see p. 107).

10. Metathesis and non-metathesis.

Metathesis of *r* from before to after a vowel (esp. when this vowel was followed by *nn* or *s* + cons.) and in the converse direction before *ht*, frequently takes place in O. E. and *r* seems, as a rule, to remain in M. E. in the position it received through this O. E. metathesis. The conditions and the history of this metathesis are, as yet, unsettled in many particulars. See Sweet, H. E. S. p. 137, Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 179, Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1018 f., Brown, Lang. of the Rushw. Gl. II p. 18. In Scandinavian there are also some cases of metathesis of *r*, but they are, as a rule, of a different nature from the O. E. metathesis: in O. W. Scand. the metathesis is only of a sporadic nature, and in O. Swed. it is chiefly confined to weakly stressed syllables, cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 248, Altschwed. Gramm. § 339, 2. The appearance

[1]) Possibly a *h* has been lost also in M. E. *þrā*, see p. 106 f.

[2]) Scand. loss of *h* is assumed also to have taken place in M. E. *wār*, explained from Scand. **wār* (< **warha-*), an etymology which nevertheless is very doubtful, see p. 104 f.

in Middle English of *r* + vowel when we should expect vowel + *r*, is very often to be explained by Scand. influence. In most cases it is impossible to decide with certainty what is due to Scandinavian influence and what to independent English development.[1]) The material (of words in which the vowel originally preceded by *r* was followed by *nn* or *s* + cons.)[2]) to be taken into consideration as decidedly or probably due to Scand. influence will here be shortly summed up.

M. E. *brennen* vb. tr. and intr. 'to burn', pret. *bren(n)de* Chron. 1137 (*brendon* tr.), Orrm. tr., Gen. and Ex., Hav. tr. and intr., Ch., A. P. etc. (see N. E. D.), N. E. dial. *bren(n)* 'to burn' (E. D. D.) : O. W. Scand. *brenna* tr. and intr., O. Swed. *brænna* tr. and intr., O. Dan. *brænnæ* (cf. O. E. *biernan, bærnan, beornan,* N. E. *to burn*).[3]) Although *bren(n)*- may occasionally have originated by metathesis from *bern*- (in pret. *bernde,* p. part. *bernd*; M. E. *brande* pret. is doubtless from *barnde*), it is, no doubt, mainly due to Scand. influence (cf. N. E. D.). The M. E. distribution of the word points in the same direction. Moreover, *nn* in *brennen* (Hav., Ch., A. P. etc.) is not accounted for by assuming this form to be the result of a metathesis from *bernen.*

M. E. *brenne* sb. 'burning, conflagration' Hav. 1239 : O. W. Scand. *brenna* sb., O. Swed. *brænna* sb.

M. E. *brenstone* sb. 'sulphur' : O. W. Scand. *brennusteinn,* O. Swed. *brænnestēn.*

M. E. *brinnen* vb. intr. Rel. I 215, Ch., C. M., Isum : O. W. Scand. *brinna* (Noreen, Altisl. Gramm.[2] § 139, 2), O. Swed. *brinna*; cf. M. E. *brennen* above.

M. E. *brest* sb. 'damage, defect, want, need' C. M., A. P., Pr. P., etc., *brist* sb. C. M., Pr. C., Erl of Toul., Alex. (Sk.) etc.,

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[1]) In M. E. *fresch,* N. E. *fresh* (O. E. *fersc*), M. E. *frosch* (O. E. *forsc*), M. E. *preschen,* N. E. *thresh, thrash* (O. E. *þerscan*), M. E. *preshwold,* N. E. *preshold* (<*þerscwold, þerscold*) *re, ro* cannot easily be accounted for by Scand. influence, as *sch, sh* proves native origin.

[2]) Scand. loan-words in *r* + vowel + other cons. than *nn, s* + cons. are here omitted.

[3]) Concerning the Scand. words and their etymology, see Tamm, Et. Ordb. s. v. *brinna.* In Scand. the word is tr. (strong in W. Scand.) as well as intr. (weak), cf. Tamm l. c.

bresten vb. Ch., A. P., Pr. P., Wycl. etc., pret. sg. *brast, brest* Gen. and Ex., C. M., Ch., Langl. P. Pl., A. P., Townl. M., etc., pret. pl. *brosten, brustin* Oct., Gaw., A. P., Man. (F.) etc., p. part. *brosten, brustin* Gaw., York., Myst., Pr. P. etc., *brist* inf. C. M. 22395, Gav. Dougl. (rime-word: *wist,* Gerken p. 34), N. E. dial. *brist* vb. (Wm., Yorksh.), E. D. D., pret. sg. *brast* etc., pl. *brosten* etc., p. part. *brossen, brusten* (see N. E. D. s. v. *brust* : O. W. Scand. *brestr* sb., O. Swed. *bræst, brist* sb., O. W. Scand. *bresta* vb., O. Swed. *bræsta, brista* vb., Dan. *briste* vb. (cf. O. E. *berstan,* N. E. *to burst*). The M. E. forms are probably to a great extent due to Scand. influence (cf. N. E. D.); the N. E. dial. forms are more difficult to judge. The *i*-vowel in *brist, bristen* may, to some extent, be due to East Scand. *brist, brista,* although it may generally be accounted for by the English change of *e* > *i* before *st* (Morsbach, Mittelengl. Gramm. p. 144); cf. also O. E. *byrst* 'loss, injury'.

M. E. *brynie* sb. 'coat of mail' Chr. 1137, *brünie, brinie, briny, brenie* O. E. H., Laʒ., A. R., K. Horn, Hav. etc. (see N. E. D.) : O. W. Scand. *brynja,* O. Swed. *brynia* (= O. E. *byrne* f. 'corslet' < **brynne,* cf. M. H. G. *brünne,* Goth. *brunjō*). The ending *-ie* is also a Scandinavian sign (cf. Sievers, Ags. Gramm.[3] § 177),[1])

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[1]) Scand. *-j-* is probably also to be found in N. E. *skerry* (see p. 124) and in N. E. *stithy* (see Scand. *ð*). Other instances of Scand. *-j-* are probably offered by the following words:

M. E. *bary* 'to thresh corn' York. Pl. 334, early N. E. *barowe* 'triturare' Man. Voc., N. E. dial. *barry* 'to thresh corn' (Sc., Nhb.), *berry* 'to beat, cudgel, thresh corn' (Sc., Nhb., Cumb., Yksh.). These forms cannot be derived from O. E. *berian* 'to beat' (Sievers, Ags. Gr.[3] § 400 Anm. 1): the O. E. weak verbs of the first class in *-rian* (cf. Sievers l. c.) end in *-ren* in the Midland and Northern dialects of M. E. (cf. Morsbach, Mittele. Gramm. p. 88). Thus O. E. *erian, derian, spyrian, styrian, swerian, werian* 'to defend', *werian* 'to wear' have become M. E. (Midl. and Northern) *eren* (Ch., Wicl., Mand.), *deren* (Langl. P. Pl., Ch., Hav. etc.), *spiren, speren* (M. H., Pr. P. etc.), *stiren, steren* (Orrm, Langl. P. Pl. etc.), *sweren* (Langl. P. Pl., Ch. etc.), *weren* (Orrm., Hav. etc.). The forms *bary, barowe, barry, berry* are due to O. W. Scand. *berja* (pret. *barða*) 'to beat', O. Swed. *bæria* (pret. *barþe*) 'to beat', and have come to belong to the same class as M. E. *herʒian, herîen, har(o)wen* 'to harry, lay waste, plunder' (< O. E. *herʒian* < **harjōjan,* Sievers § 411 Anm. 4).

N. E. dial. *billy* (Sc., Nhb., Cumb., Yksh.) 'a young fellow, comrade, friend, brother', perhaps from an O. Scand. **byli,* gen. **bylja,* see Bugge, Svenska Landsmålen IV, 2 p. 229.

and the M. Scotch *byrnie* (Gav. Douglas, see Gerken p. 31), depends very probably, on the later shifting of the *r* in the loan-word.

M. E. *fres(s)t* sb. 'time, period, space of time, term, respite' Orrm., C. M., Hav., Pr. P. etc., *frist* sb. A. P., Pr. P., *fresten* vb. 'respite, delay' Pr. P., *fristen* A. P., Tund., Cath. Angl., N. E. dial. *afrist* 'on trust or in a state of delay' (N. E. D.), *frist* sb. : O. W. Scand. *frest* sb., O. Swed. *fræst* sb., *frist* sb., O. W. Scand. *fresta* vb. (= O. E. *fierst, first,* M. E. *first*).

M. E. *frosk* 'rana', but also *frosch* which is not from O. W. Scand. *froskr*. *sk* in *frosk* is no Scand. sign (cf. p. 138) and cannot be used in order to prove *ro* in this form to be due to Scand. influence.

M. E. *fros(s)t* sb. Orrm., Pr. P. etc. : O. W. Scand., O. Swed., Dan. *frost* sb. (= O. E. *forst* sb. 'frost').

M. E. *feri* sb. Pr. P., N. E. *ferry* sb., is probably from O. W. Scand. *ferja* sb., O. Swed. *færia* sb. 'ferry' (= M. H. G. *vęre*), although, from its form, quite as well from an O. E. **ferie*. M. E. *ferîen*, N. E. *to ferry* cannot be from O. E. *ferian* 'to carry, convey, lead, bring' (Morsbach l. c., cf. *bary, berry* etc. above), but is either from the sb. (M. E. *feri*, N. E. *ferry*) or from the Scand. verb (O. W. Scand. *ferja* pret. *farða* and *ferjaða*, not in O. Swed.).

M. E. *fillie* (see N. E. D.), N. E. *filly* sb. : O. W. Scand. *fylja*, Swed. dial. *följa* (<**fuljōn-*). The distribution of the word in the N. E. dial. proves it to be rather from the Scand. word than from an O. E. **fylle* + the dimin. ending *-y*.

N. E. dial. *fitty* sb. 'marsh-land lying between the sea-bank and the sea' (Lincsh.) : O. W. Scand. *fit*, pl. *fitjar* 'marsh-land', O. Swed. *fit* (dat. pl. *fitium*, see Söderwall, Ordbok).

Scand. verbs in *-ja* introduced into English, generally show no distinctive difference from native ones. Thus O. E. *dwelian* (Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 933), M. E. *hülen, hilen, creven* (Pist. of Sw. Sus.), *skil(i)en*, the first of which shows Scand. influence in its sense (cf. N. E. D.), as far as the ending is concerned, might as well be native as Scandinavian (*dvelja, hylja, krefja, skilja*) and may depend on the tendency of the O. E. verbs of the first weak class to pass into the second weak class (Sievers, Ags. Gramm. § 400 Anm. 2, Schwerdtfeger, Diss. Marb. 1892—93 p. 49 ff.). It is remarkable that the Orrmulum has *unnhilenn* 'to uncover, reveal', *skiledd* 'divided' but *dwellenn* (not **dwelenn*). Forms like M. E. *dillen* 'to hide' (C. M.), *dwellen, flitten, hüllen, hillen, nitten* (*dylja, dvelja, flytja, hylja, nytja*, see later on) bear no distinctive Scand. stamp, although they — at least in part — depend on Scand. influence.

M. E. *ransaken*, N. E. *to ransack* (see above); cf. O. E. *ærn* 'a house'.

M. E. *rennen* Hav., Langl. P. Pl., A. P., Gaw. etc. (see Dictionaries) (1) strong vb. (also *rinnen*) 'to run' pret. *ran*, pl. *runnen*, p. part. *runnen*), (2) weak vb. 'to run, make to run' : O. W. Scand. *renna*, (1) intr. strong vb., 'to run', (2) tr. weak vb. 'to make to run', O. Swed. *rinna*, *rænna* intr., *rænna* tr. (cf. O. E. *iernan*, *ærnan*).

M. E. *renne* sb. 'run, course' Gen. and Ex., Ch., Pr. P., cf. prec. word.

Corrections and Additions to Part I.

Page 2, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: the case with respect to.
" 10, l. 10, read: identity.
" 11, l. 10, read *īe* (for *ie*).
" 11, l. 5 (fr. bot.), read: *līesing, lȳsing*.
" 15, l. 5 (fr. bot.), read: peace.
" 17, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: Scandinavian.
" 17, foot-note 1. Prof. Morsbach calls my attention to the fact that also in English the suffix *-ande* must — independently of Scand. influence — have been pronounced, with a 'Nebenton' (cf. Mittele. Gramm. § 45, 46). But, I think, this 'Nebenton' must have been weaker than that of the ending in the Scand. languages, in which it had the same stress as the second member of a compound (cf. Noreen, Altisl. Gramm. § 51, 2, Lindgren, Svenska Landsm. XII, 1 p. 46, foot-note 7). And such a strong 'Nebenton' may have been, in this suffix, imported from Scand. into northern English.
" 18, foot-note 1, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: *lusstess*.
" 21, foot-note 1. *īn* in *Orrmīn* has been explained as depending on French influence, cf. Zupitza, Notes to Guy of Warwick (E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. XXV) p. 433, Napier, Academy 1894, I p. 62, Kluge, E. St. XXII p. 181. The length of *ī* in M. E. *Drihhtīn* is explained by Kluge, Paul's Grundr.[2] I p. 1059.
" 22, l. 14 f., read: distinctively.
" 30, foot-note, l. 4 (fr. bot.), read: **arbio-*. — Concerning the *a* in *arrfname*, cf. M. E. *harîen*, *char* (W. Sax. *čyrr*), *dærne* (Orrm.; W. Sax. *dīerne, dȳrne*).
" 36, foot-note, l. 2, add: Swed. dial. *klägg* 'tabanus' (Rietz).
" 38, l. 13, read: p. 26 (for p. 25 f.).
" 39. Prof. Morsbach writes to me that, in his opinion, O. E. (North.) *hæliȝ*, M. E. *hēlī* (which seems to be exclusively Anglian, cf. Mätzner, N. E. D. s. v. *holy*) are to be considered as doubtless depending on *i*-mutation (not on the influence of O. E. *hæl*, M. E. *hēl*, as has been assumed in Mittele. Gramm. p. 192).
" 40, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: O. Swed. *besker*.

Page 43. *ei* in O. W. Scand. *greifi* has been explained by Kock, Zeitschr. f. d. Altert. XL p. 202 as depending on sound-substitution for L. Germ. *ē*. In his Studien z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 26 foot-note 2, Lidén explains *ei* in the Scand. word as alternatively depending on M. L. Germ. *ei* (< *ē* through a secondary and dialectical diphthongisation). Although the Scand. diphthong may in part depend on a L. Germ. diphthongal pronunciation, it does not seem likely that such a diphthongal pronunciation existed in L. Germ. as early as to find its way through Scand. languages into the dialect of the Orrmulum.

The *ezz* in *bezzsannz*, *Ezznocc* in the Orrmulum is obscure. The words no doubt rest on some Romance source (cf. Kluge, Et. St. XXII p. 180).

„ 45, foot-note 1. *a* in *laðene*, Vices and Virtues, depends on the dialectal change of *æ* > *ā*, cf. p. 85 foot-note 1.

„ 47. The general meaning of N. E. dial. *leikin*, *lakin* is, as Professor Wright kindly informs me, 'a plaything', not 'a sweet-heart'.

„ 49, foot-note 1, read: *mz knutogho repe.*

„ 51, foot-note 4. As Professor Lidén points out to me, O. W. Scand. *ei*, O. Swed. *ē* 'always' (cf. p. 40), proves Teutonic *-aiw-* to have become, under certain circumstances, Scand. *æi*, *ei*; O. W. Scand. *vei* O. Swed. *vē*, are to be considered quite analogous to O. W. Scand. *ei*, O. Swed. *ē* 'always' and therefore are to be explained from a base **waiw-*.

„ 53, l. 15, read: regarded as.

„ 56, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: *kejhåndet.*

„ 57. As Professor Lidén points out to me, *gl-* in M. E. *gleym*, *gleymen* may depend on the influence of M. E. *glü(e)* (< O. Fr. *glu* 'birdlime').

„ 58, foot-note 2, l. 2, read: Beiträge XV.

„ 59, foot-note 1. For the explanation of Dan. *væge*, Swed. *veke*, Norw. *veik(e)*, see Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 26 foot-note 2.

„ 63, l. 3. N. E. dial. *rean*, *rane* 'unploughed portions left round the cultivated fields' (see Dial. Prov. p. 18 foot-note 4) is, no doubt from a M. E. *rein*, *rain* < Scand. *rein.*

„ 65, foot-note 3, read: Johansson.

„ 66, l. 1, read: *ȝ* or *j*.

„ 66, l 9, read: XII, 1 p. 118.

„ 67. M. E. *lein*, *leines* in the MS. Cott. Tit. D. XVIII of A. R., where Morton's ed. has *hel*, *heleð* is undoubtedly the Scand. word (O. W. Scand. *løyna*). — The word is still alive in the E. dialects, see Wall p. 109.

„ 67, foot-note, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: Et. Wb. (for Et. D.).

„ 67, introduce between the two last paragraphs: N. E. dial. *rait* 'to soak flax', Wall p. 133 : Norw. dial. *røyta*, Swed. *röta.*

„ 69, foot-note 2, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: Lindgren.

Page 70, add after the second paragraph: M. E. *gauren* 'to stare, to look vacantly' Ch. Tr. and Cr. II v. 1127 (: *folk may seen and gauren on us tweye*), Mill. T. v. 641 (: *the neighebores in ronnen for to gauren on this man*) is from the Scand. word-stem *gaur-* in O. W. Scand. *gaurr* 'a rough, uneducated fellow'. The original meaning of this Scand. word-stem seems to have been 'to gape, to look stupidly and vacantly'; cf. Norw. dial. *gaura* 'a garment with an aperture behind (for children)' (Ross), originally 'something gaping'. This explanation of M. E. *gauren* has been suggested to me by Professor Lidén. Cf. N. E. dial. *goury* 'dull, stupid-looking' p. 81.

„ 72, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: *sauðr*.

„ 72, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: Cursor Studies.

„ 72, l. 1 (fr. bot.) read: *ǫu, au* (for *ou*).

„ 75. The word M. E. *bawlen*, N. E. *to bawl* ought to be given within brackets.

„ 76, add after l. 2: M. E. *braulen*, *brawlen* 'to quarrel noisily and indecently, to chide, scold, to brag or boast loudly', N. E. *to brawl* : Norw. dial. *braula* 'to scream, shout' (cf. Norw. dial. *brauska* 'to brag, boast'). But Swed. dial. *bravla* 'to talk noisily' (Rietz), Norw. dial. *braala* 'to be noisy', O. Dan. *brâle*, Dan. dial. *bralle* (Hellquist, Arkiv f. n. Fil. XIV p. 10) etc. — the mutual relations of which are very obscure[1]) — render an adequate judgment of the English word very diffiicult. It is not probable that the base of the Engl. word contained the Teut. diphthong *au*.

„ 76, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: *hafoc*.

„ 81, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: in which case *ā*.

„ 81, foot-note 2, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: districts.

„ 82, l. 3, 6, 10, read: Teutonic (for Germanic).

„ 82, l. 13 (fr. bot.), read: These words occupy, as it were, an.

„ 82, l. 12f. (fr. bot.), erase 'outward'.

„ 83, l. 16 (fr. bot.), introduce 'p. 75'.

„ 83, foot-note, read: informs.

„ 84, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: cannot, of course, be.

„ 84, l. 2 (fr. bot.), erase comma.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 3, read: transition.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 5, read: neighbourhood.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 6, erase 'every'.

„ 85, foot-note 1, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: these texts.

„ 86, l. 3, read: A. S. Chron.

„ 86, foot-note 5, read: Bülbring p. 65.

„ 86, foot-note 7, erase the last sentence, and read: In some monuments *ā* in pret. plur. depends on the dialectal change of *æ* > *ā* (p. 85, foot-note 1).

„ 87, l. 8, read: actually (for practically).

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[1]) Dan. *bralle* is probably from **bradle*, see Hellquist l. c.

Page 88, l. 14, read: Soc.
" 88, l. 9 (fr. bot.), introduce comma after Scand.
" 88, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: O. E. *brædan.*
" 89, l. 1 f., read: roast meat.
" 90, l. 16, read: p. 94.
" 90, l. 4 (fr. bot.) read: O. W. Scand. *lágr.*
" 91, l. 10, read: *lǽti.*
" 91, l. 11, read: *lǽte.*
" 91, l. 14, read: p. 89.
" 91, l. 4 (fr. bot.), erase *rād.*
" 91, foot-note 2, read: *ā* (for *a*).
" 92, l. 11, read: here (for hery).
" 93, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: on (for after).
" 94, l. 4, read: = M. E. *wēr.*
" 94, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: M. E. *gāre, gǭre.*
" 95, l. 11, read: (or = *quŏre, wŏr*?).
" 95, l. 5 f. (fr. bot.), read: we should have to expect the form **quǭð* in the texts in which O. E. *ā* is represented by *ǭ*.
" 95, foot-note 3, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: *quāt* etc.
" 96, foot-note 2, l. 3 (fr. bot.), read: Rich. Coeur de Lion.
" 97. M. E. *strāte* may be from L. Germ.
" 97, foot-note 2, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: way' (rime-word *hāte* 'heat'),.
" 98, l. 6, read: Teutonic) and *s.*
" 98, l. 7, read: § 45, 5, 186, 1).
" 98, l. 9 f., erase: in prehistoric times.
" 98, l. 14, read: not native English.
" 98, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: Scand.
" 98, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: , *windas,* (*guindas*) sb. m.
" 99, l. 6, read: (Orrm etc.), .
" 99, l. 12 (fr. bot.), read: Urgerm. Lautl.
" 99, foot-note 1, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: definite plural form of Scand.
" 100, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: word being.
" 100, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: Wülcker.
" 100, foot-note 1, read: Grundr.[2]
" 101, l. 4, read: nasal.
" 102, foot-note 2, l. 1, read: references to.
" 103, l. 4, read: (< **strawo-*, cf. Kock, Ind. Forsch. V p. 157 = O. E.
" 103, l. 7, 14, read: speech.
" 103, l. 16, read: *mæðl.*
" 103, l. 8 (fr. bot.), read: , owing to similarity in form and.
" 103, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: *mæðl.*
" 103, foot-note 1, read: *strewen, strawen.*
" 104, l. 1 f., read: which, if other circumstances did not make such a supposition improbable, could, as far as the form is concerned be.
" 104, l. 5, read: distinctly in the same.
" 104, l. 12, erase: , etc.
" 104, l. 6 (fr. bot.), read: is probably to.

Page 104, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: *wirrsenn*.
„ 105, l. 8, read: , would, if English, have been.
„ 105, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: O. Swed. *var* had *ă*, and.
„ 105, l. 1 (fr. bot.), introduce (after therefore,): ought —.
„ 105, foot-note 4, l. 4 (fr. bot.), read: only knows a form representing O. Dan. *vǎr*.
„ 105, foot-note 4, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: *vǎr*.
„ 106, l. 1, read: to me — to be . . . problematical.
„ 106. For analogous sense-developments from 'mud, mire' into 'sea-, weed, alga', see Lidén, Stud. z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgesch. p. 30.
„ 107, l. 7 (fr. bot.), read: **þrōh*.
„ 107, foot-note 1, l. 2, read: *þrōh* adj. (dat. *þrōgum*, *þrōn*) 'rancidus, bitter' is.
„ 107, foot-note 1, l. 4, read: Karsten l. c. p. 64). Perhaps.
„ 108, l. 13 (fr. bot.), erase: the case.
„ 108, l. 2 (fr. bot.), read: (< Teut. **laihnoz*).
„ 108, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: (< Teut. **laihniz*).
„ 110, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: < O. E. *eglan*.
„ 111, foot-note 3, read: *fain* : *fawen*.
„ 112, l. 10, read: depends.
„ 112, l. 14, read: in conformity with.
„ 113. O. W. Scand. *toft*, O. Swed. *toft* etc. has been further dealt with by Kock, Arkiv f. nord. fil. XV p. 332 ff., 345 ff.
„ 126, foot-note 1, read: Altschwed. Gramm. § 100 Anm.
„ 129. Professor Lidén calls my attention to Norw. dial. *skarka*, *skjerkna* (Aasen), *skark*, *skarka*, *skjerka*, *skjerkjen* (Ross) as possibly connected with the M. E. *scorrcnenn*, in which case *c* in this word does not depend on an original *p* before *n*.
„ 133, l. 10 (fr. bot.), read: N. E. *skull*; ib. l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: skull.
„ 135, foot-note 2. Cf. also Persson, Wurzelerweiterung p. 199.
„ 138, foot-note 1. Cf. Falk, Sprogl.-hist. stud. tilegnede C. R. Unger, p. 208.
„ 142. Cf. O. W. Scand. *elrikjörr*, Fritzner s. v. *elri*.
„ 146, l. 10, erase <.
„ 147, foot-note 1, l. 3, read: *slekkenn*.
„ 152, l. 9 (fr. bot.), read: O. E. *ȝest-hūs* in Ælfric.
„ 153. The *i*-vowel of M. E. *gile*, *gille* has been explained by Noreen, Svenska etymologier p. 36.
„ 157, l. 1 (fr. bot.), read: 109 ff.
„ 159, l. 2, read: Non-initial.
„ 161, l. 5, read: M. E. *kide*, N. E. *kid*; cf. above p. 143.
„ 161. Professor Lidén informs me that O. W. Scand. *frauð*, *froða* have been referred to Ind. *prōthati* and consequently would rest on a Teut. base containing *þ*.
„ 162, l. 8, read: O. H. G. *giburt*.

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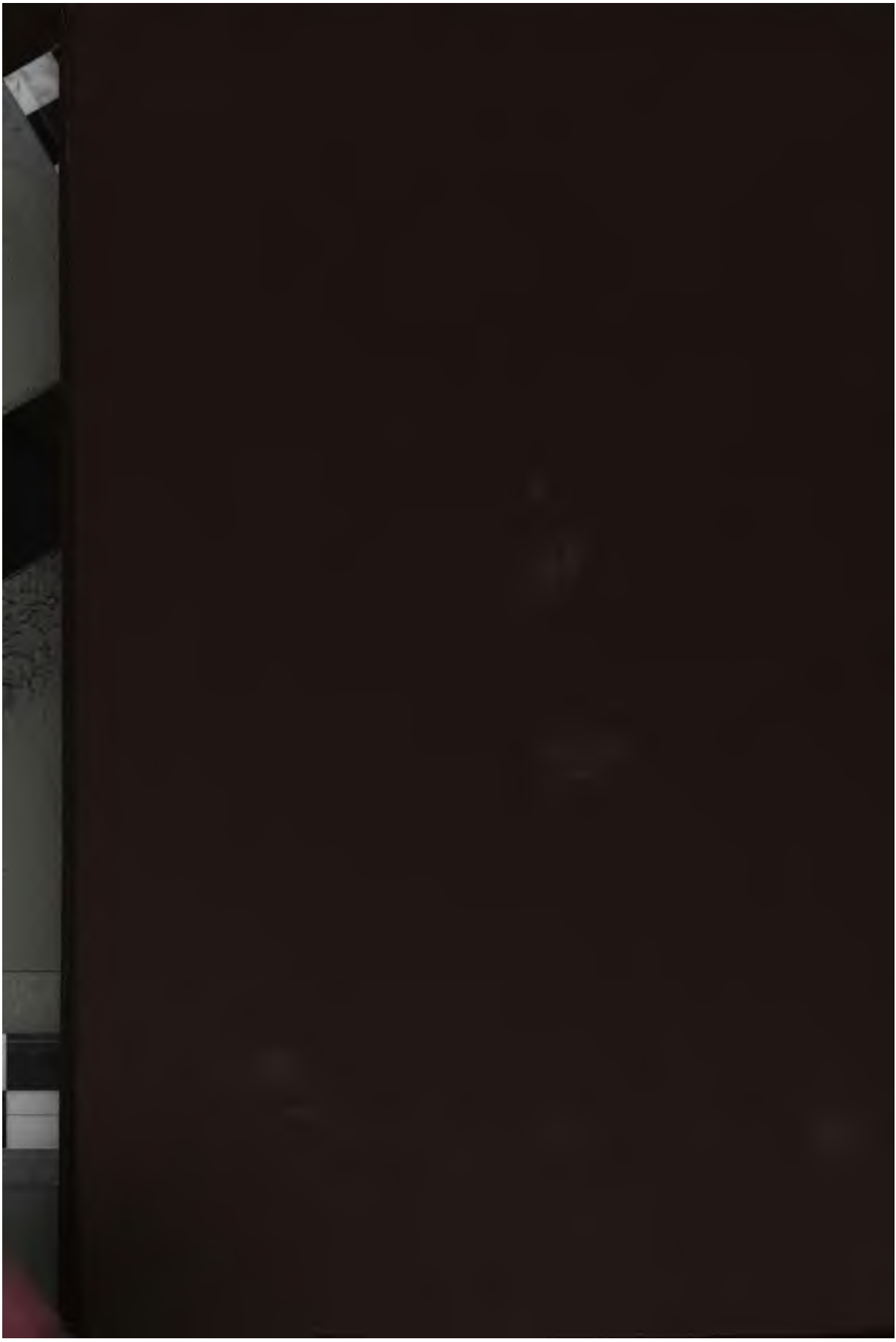
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